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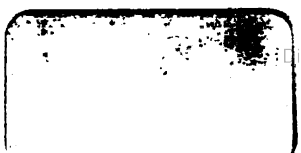
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MIRABEAU IN THE FRENCH ASSEMBLY.

After the Design by Delaroche. Engraved by Dupont.

DELAROCHE suggests the ugliness of which Mirabeau was proud. He suggests too something of the fire of his extemporaneous oratory. It has been shown over and over that Mirabeau used his friends in preparing his set speeches, but his passionate outbursts of extemporaneous eloquence are what really gave him his reputation as the greatest orator of France. These no one can take from him or share with him. They make him a type of the highest oratorical effectiveness.

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OFFICIAL EDITION

THE

World's Best Orations

FROM THE

EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE PRESENT TIME

DAVID J. BREWER

EDITOR

EDWARD A. ALLEN WILLIAM SCHUYLER

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

TEN VOLUMES

VOL. VIII.

ST. LOUIS CHICAGO

FERD. P. KAISER

1899

M. P. P.

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LYSIAS

(*c.* 459–*c.* 380 B. C.)

LYSIAS lived in Athens under the Thirty Tyrants, and he derives his greatest importance to students of Greek History from the fact that he prosecuted Eratosthenes — one of the Thirty — for murder. Being a foreigner, unnaturalized, he was not usually allowed to speak in public so that, except the speech against Eratosthenes, all his extant orations were delivered by others, when they were delivered at all.

In 412 B. C. Lysias and his brother, Polemarchus, who had inherited a considerable estate from their father, Cephalus, a Syracusan resident of Athens, removed from Thurii to Athens, and when the persecutions under the Thirty Tyrants began, they were managing an extensive factory for making shields. Polemarchus was proscribed and put to death, and Lysias, who had a narrow escape, was driven into exile. After the overthrow of the Thirty, he returned and prosecuted Eratosthenes in a speech of great historical importance, which as it survives to us in its entirety is probably the best example of Attic speeches for the prosecution in murder trials.

The date of the birth of Lysias, given by Dionysius of Halicarnassus as 459 B. C., is in dispute, and there is the same uncertainty attaching to the date of his death. Of his greatest political oration, delivered at Olympia, 388 B. C., only a fragment remains. After the expulsion of the Tyrants, he seems to have supported himself writing speeches to be delivered by others in the law courts at Athens, and a very considerable number of these are still extant in their entirety. Of his style, Dionysius of Halicarnassus says that to "write well is given to most men . . . to write winningly, gracefully, and with loveliness, is the gift of Lysias."

AGAINST ERATOSTHENES FOR MURDER

(Delivered at Athens 403 B. C.)

["Polemarchus, brother of Lysias," writes Professor Jebb, "had been put to death by the Thirty Tyrants. Eratosthenes, one of their number, was the man who had arrested him and taken him to prison. In this speech Lysias, himself the speaker, charges Eratosthenes with the murder of Polemarchus, and, generally, with his share in the tyranny. . . .

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«Lysias then enters on his narrative of the facts. His father had been invited by Pericles to settle at Athens as a resident-alien, and had lived there peaceably for thirty years. His family had never been involved in any troubles until the time of the Thirty Tyrants. Theognis and Peison, members of that body, suggested the policy of plundering the resident-aliens. These two men first paid a visit to the shield manufactory of Lysias and his brother, and took an inventory of the slaves. The next came to the dwelling house of Lysias, and got all his ready money,—about three talents. He managed to slip away from them, and took refuge with a friend in the Peiræus; then, hearing that his brother Polemarchus had been met in the street by Eratosthenes and taken to prison, he escaped by night to Megara. Polemarchus received the usual mandate of the Thirty,—to drink the hemlock; and had a beggar's burial. Though he and Lysias had yielded such rich plunder, the very earrings were taken from the ears of his wife.» Now the murderer of Polemarchus was Eratosthenes, who is prosecuted by Lysias:—]

IT IS an easy matter, O Athenians! to begin this accusation, but to end it without doing injustice to the cause will be attended with no small difficulty. For the crimes of Eratosthenes are not only too atrocious to describe, but too many to enumerate. No exaggeration can exceed; and within the time assigned for this discourse, it is impossible fully to represent them.

This trial, too, is attended with another singularity. In other causes it is usual to ask the accusers: «What is your resentment against the defendants?» But here you must ask the defendants: «What was your resentment against your country?» «What malice did you bear your fellow-citizens?» «Why did you rage with unbridled fury against the State itself?»

I say not this, Athenians, as if I had no private misfortunes to lament, no personal injuries to revenge. But a good citizen feels the calamities of his country as sensibly as his own. Both there is good reason to resent, and with both I am justly affected.

Nor is it a small source of uneasiness that a man, who never before plead in his own or in any other cause, should be obliged to undertake an accusation on which so much depends. I have felt uncommon anxiety on this account, especially as not only my own interests, but those of my brother, are at stake; and both are unfortunately committed to my artless inexperience. But I shall make you acquainted, Athenians, with the merit of this cause in the shortest and simplest manner.

My father Cephalus was engaged to settle in this country, by the persuasion of Pericles, and he continued in it thirty years, without ever appearing before you as plaintiff or defendant. His

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behavior was so moderate and inoffensive that it prevented him from doing injuries and protected him against them. But there are times in which no man, how much soever he may be entitled to tranquillity, can expect to enjoy it. Such was that fatal period, when the Thirty assumed the direction of your affairs. Governed as they were by the most abandoned principles, and actuated by the malignant spirit of calumny and revenge, they endeavored to conceal the flagitious designs which they meditated against their country, under the appearance of promoting the public good.

«The city must be purged of turbulent and corrupt men, that, the contagion of their bad example being removed, other citizens may return to their duty and public happiness be restored.»— This was their pretense, but you shall hear how far their conduct corresponded with it. Having first mentioned their behavior towards myself, I shall afterwards describe what they committed against you.

Theognis and Piso, two of the Thirty Tyrants, gave information to their associates that many strangers established at Athens were disaffected towards the present government. This calumny was evidently contrived in order to afford a plausible excuse for plundering the strangers, to which measure the colleagues of Theognis and Piso were not only disposed by avarice, but prompted by fear. Money had become necessary for their safety, as their government, founded on usurpation, and tyrannically administered, could by no other means be supported. The life of man, therefore, they regarded as a matter of little moment; the amassing of wealth was the only object of their ambition. For this purpose, ten strangers were at once devoted to destruction. Among these, indeed, were two poor men; for thus did the tyrants hope to persuade you, that the remaining eight had also been condemned, not from a desire of rifling their effects, but of maintaining the public interest; as if this had ever been the object of their concern.

Having thus concerted their designs, they proceeded to carry them into execution. I was seized exercising the rites of hospitality, and my guests, being rudely dismissed, were delivered over to Piso. While his accomplices went into the workhouse to take a list of my slaves, I asked him if money could save my life. «Yes, a considerable sum.» «I will give you a talent of silver.» «I am satisfied.» I knew, Athenians, that he neither feared gods nor men, yet in my present desperate condition it was some

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small consolation to depend even upon his brittle faith. After he had vowed destruction on himself and his children if he performed not his promise, I went to open my coffers to pay him the talent, but he, observing the contents, called one of his attendants, and ordered him to seize them. When his servant had taken, not only what was agreed upon between us, but three talents of silver, a hundred daricks, three hundred cyzeceni, and four cups of silver, I begged of Piso that he allow me a small pittance to defray the expense of my journey; but he desired me to be thankful if I saved my life.

As we were going out we were met by Melobius and Muesithedes (two of the Thirty Tyrants), who had returned from the workhouse. They inquired where we were going. Piso answered: "To my brother's house, that it might likewise be examined." They desired him to go on, but commanded me to follow them to Damasippus's house; upon which Piso whispered to me to fear nothing, for he also would be there. When we arrived, we found Theognis placed as a guard upon several of my unfortunate companions. Here I remained among his prisoners, and those who conducted me retired. In this unhappy condition, I thought it advisable to neglect no means of providing for my escape. Calling therefore Damasippus, I explained to him my situation; that I had been guilty of no crime, but was persecuted for my riches, and entreated him, by our past friendship, to exert his influence in my behalf. He assured me of his favorable intentions, and of his resolution to intercede with Theognis, whom he supposed to be so avaricious that he would do anything for money. Whilst they conversed, I, being acquainted with the house, which had two entrances, thought proper to attempt getting out unnoticed. If I escaped, it was well; if I did not, Theognis might still be soothed by money; and should a bribe fail, my ruin, whether in staying or attempting to escape, was inevitable. Influenced by these motives, while they guarded only the entrance from the court, I escaped by another passage through three doors, which all happened to be open. Flying to the country house of Archimaus, a shipmaster, I sent him to the city to get intelligence of my brother. Upon his return, he informed me that Eratosthenes had dragged him from the road and carried him to prison. At this mournful news, I sailed in the night to Megara. And in the meantime the Thirty issued their command, that Polemarchus should drink hemlock, without even alleging the smallest reason

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why he should suffer death,—so far was he from being allowed a fair trial for his vindication!

Having thus perished in prison, though we had three houses belonging to us, they publicly exposed his body in a hired cottage, from which it was brought for burial. Even his garments, with which he was well provided, were not used at his funeral; but of our friends one supplied a cloak, another a pillow for his head, and each whatever happened to be nearest at hand. So shameful was their conduct to him, though they had acquired seven hundred shields, the manufacture of our slaves, much gold, silver, and brass, with all sorts of furniture, and such a quantity of women's dresses and ornaments as they could never have expected to possess; and to crown all, a hundred and twenty slaves, of whom, giving the worst to the public, they kept the most dexterous and skillful for their private use. Such was the meanness of their avarice that even the gold earrings of Polemarchus's wife Melobius plucked from her ears. The most insignificant trinket was not spared; they plundered us for our wealth, as if they had been executing the decrees of justice against us for some enormous offense.

But did we deserve such a treatment; we who so liberally distributed our fortunes for the public interest and often lavished it for the public amusement; we who, always behaving with moderation, never gave the least cause of resentment; we who ransomed many of your citizens from the enemy, and, though foreigners, showed more attachment to the country in which we lived than such citizens as Eratosthenes to their native land? By them many Athenians were driven from their country and obliged to take refuge among the enemy; many after being put to death upon unjust accusations were impiously suffered to lie unburied; those who deserved the highest honors, they disgraced and insulted; and, not satisfied with wreaking their vengeance on the present generation, they cut off your future hopes by preventing the marriages of your children.

What audacity is it, then, for such men to approach you with their defense; to plead innocence, to solicit protection, which would to God, they deserved! For had their conduct been capable of excuse, my sorrows might admit of consolation, and I should not at present lament the public's calamities and my own.

My brother, guiltless of any injury, public or private, fell a sacrifice to the cruel avarice of Eratosthenes. And let him now

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appear that I may interrogate him; for though with a view to his safety it would be impious even to name him to another, I shall feel no horror in speaking to him, in order to promote his destruction. Step up, then, and answer the questions which I shall put to you. "Did you carry off Polemarchus or not?" "I executed by fear what was commanded me by the magistrates." "Were you of the council, when our affair was examined?" "I was." "Did you concur with those who proposed to put us to death, or were you of a contrary opinion?" "I was of a contrary opinion." "Did you advise that we should die?" "I advised that you should not die." "Believing that we deserved death, or that we should have suffered unjustly?" "That you should have suffered unjustly." Thus, O most impudent of men, you voted for saving us, but laid hold of us, that we might die!

When our lives depended upon your cabal, you opposed the opinion of those who sought our death; but when the life of Polemarchus depended on yourself alone, you imprisoned and murdered him! And now dare you expect favor for what you advised without effect, rather than dread punishment for what you actually committed?

But it is unreasonable, Athenians, to believe he ever gave any such advice; for is it possible that, had he opposed our death, he should have been appointed our executioner? Would his colleagues have chosen to try his fidelity by this delicate act of obedience? Surely they might have found a fitter instrument to execute their orders than the man who disapproved of them and who had openly declared his opinion.

But, on the supposition that this really was the case, it would still be of no avail to him. It is an excuse, indeed, for the rest of the citizens, who in those turbulent times were sometimes compelled to acts of violence and injustice, that their conduct was not voluntary, but in compliance with the orders of the Thirty, whom it was death to disobey; but the Thirty can never defend their own crimes by charging them on one another.

Had there been authority in the State, to which their own was subordinate and which commanded them to put to death the citizens, then, indeed, they might plead necessity and perhaps be deemed worthy of pardon; but being themselves sovereign and supreme, they must likewise be themselves answerable for their behavior. For how could you ever punish their crimes if you

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admit as an excuse for the Thirty that they obeyed the orders of the Thirty.

But Eratosthenes even exceeded these orders, for though commanded to search for Polemarchus in his house, a command highly criminal and oppressive, he pursued him when he was flying for safety into the road, and thence dragged him to prison. If those deserve mercy who in order to secure themselves violate the rights of others, is there no pity for the innocent? "But Eratosthenes would have endangered his own safety had he not come to my brother's house, or if, finding him there, he had denied his having seen him." Be it so. As the matter actually happened, however, there was no danger. His defense was ready, either that he did not observe him on the road, or did not know him; for in neither case was it in the power of his colleagues, either by witnesses or cross-examining, to convict him.

And had you, Eratosthenes, felt anything of that humanity to which you pretend, you would rather have given warning to an innocent man pursued to death than co-operated with his insolent oppressors. But your conduct affords sufficient proof that, far from being dissatisfied with your commission, you delighted in executing it.

The decision of the judges will, therefore, be founded on the actions which you performed, and not on the words which you pretend to have said. They will consider your actions as a proof that those words of which you can bring no evidence were not really spoken by you; for it is easy for the Thirty, to whose meetings we had no access, against whose violence, even in our own houses, we were not secure, to extol the humanity of their speeches, whilst their actions were directed against our property and our lives. But admitting that you opposed the sentiments of your colleagues, pray what would have been your conduct had you agreed with them, since even as it was you put Polemarchus to death?

Had he been your brother or father would you have saved him?

For it would be necessary, Athenians, either to prove that he did not carry off Polemarchus, or that he acted justly in doing so; but as he has given up both these points, you can no longer have any difficulty in your decision.

By this cause the attention of mankind has been excited; the citizens and strangers now present are big with expectation; and

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the fate of Eratosthenes alone must discover your sentiments of the whole cabal. Now is the time to teach your citizens that their crimes will either meet with immediate punishment, or though this should for a short time be deferred, and their ambition be crowned with success by the acquisition of sovereign power, that justice will still pursue and overtake them, deprive them of their usurped pre-eminence, and confound them with the meanest criminals.

Now is the time to justify before strangers the expulsion of your tyrants; for if they perceive that, after getting them into your power, you still allow them to escape unpunished, they will have reason to deem their own activity in promoting your deliverance equally officious and vain.

And how inconsistent will it appear if you, who punished with death the sea commanders in the engagement because they were unable to draw up dead bodies from the bottom of a tempestuous sea, saying that it was necessary to sacrifice the living to the virtues of the dead, should neglect to chastise those men who in a private station exerted their utmost endeavors to render us unfortunate at sea, and, when vested with supreme authority, sported with the lives of your citizens? Ought not your resentment to be kindled against them and their children? Surely I have said enough upon this indictment; for when a criminal is proved deserving of death, the ultimate point to which mankind can push their revenge, it is to no purpose to accumulate new charges against him. We need not, therefore, burden the indictment of the Thirty with many articles, for the punishment would not be adequate, were they twice to suffer death for the least of their crimes.

Nor can they plead that defense which is so often employed with success; they can relate no services which can counterbalance their demerit; and if they admit, which of necessity they must, the truth of what has been asserted against them, they can boast of no gallant action to blunt the edge of your resentment. They cannot elude the accusation by showing, like many others of your citizens, their laurels gained in the field, the ships taken from the enemy, the cities joined to your alliance. Let them speak — when did you kill as many of our enemies abroad as you murdered of our citizens at home? When did you seize as many of their ships as you betrayed of ours? What city did you deliver, comparable to Athens, which you enslaved? What

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bulwark did you ever destroy equal to that of your country, when you confessed that you had demolished the Pireum, not to gratify the Lacedæmonians, but to render your own tyranny more firm and stable?

I have often wondered that such men as Eratosthenes should dare to defend crimes no less palpable than heinous. None surely could be capable of this audacity but men of the most abandoned character who had already shown many previous instances of villainy and baseness. This was not therefore the first time he had trampled on our laws and opposed the spirit of our government. When the tyranny of the Four Hundred was established in the army at Samos, Eratosthenes abandoned the ship which he commanded in the Hellespont and came hither with Hierocles and others (their names are too well known to be mentioned) with a design to oppose the friends of liberty, then struggling to preserve the democratic government. That this is the truth the witnesses shall prove. [The witnesses are examined.]

After that fatal sea fight, which, though the Republic still continued for a short time to subsist, may be considered as the climax of our misfortunes, there were five men appointed by the cabal, under pretense of acting the part of censors, and of summoning and preserving order among the tribes, but in reality to be the chiefs of the party and to undermine the true interest of the State.

Of this number were Eratosthenes and Critias, who by their accomplices gained complete ascendency over the tribes and prevailed on them to pass what laws and to appoint what magistrates they themselves thought proper. Thus was the State at once a prey to enemies both foreign and domestic: for the cabal well knew they could never build their influence on any other foundation than the ruins of their country. Hence their enmity to the State; hence their contrivance to render your own decrees destructive of the public good and to reduce your affairs into so deplorable a situation that the necessity of struggling against the calamities which they occasioned might prevent you from opposing that tyranny which they intended to establish.

That Eratosthenes was one of these censors I can prove; not by the testimony of his colleagues (this, indeed, is not in my power), but of those who were the instruments of his oppression. These, had they behaved wisely, would ere now have given information against him who employed them in so mean a service,

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disregarding engagements, by whatever oaths confirmed, which had been entered into with a public enemy, and sacrificing every scruple of conscience to the interest of their country. Let the witnesses be called and examined. [The witnesses are examined, and the orator proceeds.] You hear, then, that their testimony is entirely agreeable to what I have related. But last of all, when he became a member of the Supreme Council he was guilty of innumerable outrages without ever having a share in one good action. Had he been a worthy citizen, he would neither have usurped an authority unwarranted by law, and contrary to the principles of our Constitution, nor given ear to those false accusations which were brought before the Senate, but he would have asserted with the boldness and the freedom of an honest man that Batrachus and Æschylides did not declare the truth, but bore testimony to libels, maliciously contrived by the Thirty, for the destruction for their fellow-citizens. For in that unhappy conjuncture, such as were silent deserved as much blame as those who told falsehoods; both were equally injurious to the State; for because these were silent, the cabal alone spoke and acted,—than which there could not possibly be a greater calamity.

It is in vain, then, for any one to pretend to have wished well to his country who did not on this occasion, both by his speeches and actions, give a proof of his good-will.

Eratosthenes may still insist, however, that, being afraid of incurring the resentment of his colleagues, he was compelled to an involuntary silence. This defense, were it founded in truth, would certainly be of great weight; but if it appear that he had no occasion to dread the resentment of his associates, and that his influence among them was so great that he could oppose them all without danger to himself, it must be evident that he concurred in every design which he did not openly disapprove. For why did he not display the same courage in your behalf which he exerted in defense of Theramenes, the cause of your misfortunes, if it did not proceed from this, that, considering the State as his enemy, he naturally regarded as his friends those who had been most active in subverting it? This I can demonstrate clearly, as well as that all those dissensions which took place among the Thirty, instead of proceeding from any praiseworthy or public cause, were only so many contests of private ambition, to decide who should have the greatest share in the government,

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or rather in the oppression of their country. For had their disputes arisen about the common good, or on account of the injuries which had been offered to the citizens, when could the honest party have a fairer opportunity of discovering the integrity of their intentions and of taking vengeance of the public enemies than after Thrasybulus had got possession of Phyle?

But, instead of co-operating with this deliverer of his country, Eratosthenes departed with his partners in power to Salamis and Eleusis, after throwing into confinement three hundred of the citizens, all of whom were condemned to death by one decree.

Even after we had become masters of the Pireum, and by the victory which we there obtained over the partisans of the oligarchy had reason to flatter ourselves that the civil dissensions were at an end, the wicked artifices of certain persons still continued to disappoint us. The friends of liberty, victorious in the field, did not push their advantages, but allowed their enemies to return to the city.

These, behaving with equal moderation, endeavored, on their return, to pursue such measures as might bring about a thorough reconciliation between the contending parties. They banished all the Thirty Tyrants except Phædon and Eratosthenes, and they elected to office the persons who had most openly opposed their administration, imagining that this opposition was the surest pledge of their good intentions towards the citizens at the Pireum.

Among these new magistrates were Epichares, Hippocles, and Phædon, who had formerly been one of the Thirty.

They had all vehemently arraigned the proceedings of Critias and Charicles, and warmly contended against the whole faction; but no sooner were they themselves possessed of sovereign power than they imitated an example they had so loudly condemned and showed their animosity to be greater against you of the Pireum than even against your oppressors; by which they gave an evident proof that their dissensions with the latter had not arisen from a desire of benefiting you, or from resentment on account of those who were unjustly put to death, or from pity for such as at present stood on the brink of destruction, but only from their own criminal passions. They envied the wealth and power which the faction of Critias had acquired, and which they themselves were willing to purchase with the same crimes.

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When they had thus become masters of the government and the city, they commenced hostilities against both parties,—against the Thirty, who had committed so many outrages, and against you who had suffered them.

Yet it was evident that if the Thirty deserved punishment, you deserved protection; and that if they were banished justly, you had been banished unjustly; since this was the very pretense upon which they had been expelled. It is impossible, then, to feel too much indignation against the conduct of Phædon, who though chosen into the magistracy in order to reconcile you to your fellow-citizens and to bring you back into your country, shamefully betrayed his trust, co-operated with Eratosthenes, and while he pretended on your account to inflict punishment on the Thirty, refused to restore to you, whom they had injured, the rights of Athenians and the enjoyment of your native soil.

He even went into Lacedæmon and endeavored to persuade the Spartans to take up arms, using arguments equally injurious to you and capable of working on their ambitions; among others that the State was ready to submit to the Bœotians. As this design, however, failed, whether because the sacrifices were unfavorable, or because the Spartans at this time were not inclined to war, he borrowed a hundred talents to raise an army, which he committed to the command of Lysander, an obstinate partisan of the oligarchy, who had steadily opposed the true interests of this country and who had a particular enmity against the Athenians at the Pireum.

Thus, bribing individuals, instigating whole nations, and at length the Lacedæmonians themselves, with several of their allies, he did not propose to reconcile the citizens to one another, but to utterly subvert the State. And even this he must have effected had it not been for those brave men, whose virtue you ought now to recompense by punishing their enemies. These matters you know from your own experience, so that there is no necessity for witnesses; however, let them be called, as I should here incline to make a pause, and some of you may be fond of hearing the same truths from different persons. [The witnesses.]

I shall now speak of Theramenes in as few words as possible, and I entreat you to hear me for myself and the State. For it is Eratosthenes's apology that he is and was a friend to Theramenes and shared with him in all his exploits; yet had he been

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employed in the government with Themistocles, he would doubtless have made a merit of building the Pireum, as he now does of having demolished it with Theramenes. But these actions appear to me in a very different light.

Themistocles, deceiving our enemies, erected our walls; Theramenes, betraying his country, pulled them down, by which he broke the very sinews of your power.

Instead of sheltering themselves under the merit of Theramenes, the friends of this traitor ought to dread the same punishment which was inflicted on himself, unless they can prove they disavowed his conduct and maintained a contrary opinion with regard to public affairs. For Theramenes was the principal agent in establishing the government of the Four Hundred — a system of tyranny, which his father, one of the senators, had contrived.

While his power was unequaled, he behaved with fidelity, but no sooner did he observe that Pisander, Callæschrus, and others began to rival him in your esteem, than with Aristocrates, he formed an accusation against Antiphon and Archiptolemus, two of his most intimate friends, and such was his baseness, that, in order to seduce your favor, he sacrificed those very men by whose means he had formerly enslaved you; by this conduct he once more attained pre-eminence, and, deceiving you by a chimerical discovery, pretended that he would conclude a peace without giving hostages, demolishing your walls, or delivering up your fleet. But this grand, this important secret, it was necessary to conceal from you; all men were blindly to trust in Theramenes, without knowing the cause of their confidence. And you, Athenians, though the Areopagus were solicitous for your safety, though many murmured against Theramenes, dreading that whilst others conceal from the enemy what they communicate to their countrymen, he would communicate to your enemies what he concealed from his fellow-citizens; you, I say, intrusted solely to his care your country, your children, your wives, and your own safety. But he, regardless of his promises, persisted in his resolution of ruining the State. So that what you never dreaded, and what your enemies durst not desire, he persuaded you to do. Nor was he compelled by the Lacedæmonians, but voluntarily agreed, to demolish the walls of the Pireum and to dissolve your present government. And, indeed, affairs were brought to such a pass, that his safety and your destruction were insep-

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arably connected, nor could he avert your vengeance but by rendering you unable to punish him.

No assembly, therefore, was called until the time agreed on between him and the Lacedæmonians, when the ships of Lysander were brought from Samos and the enemy had advanced into the heart of your country. Then, indeed, he convened you to deliberate on your affairs when his associates, Lysander, Philochares, and Miltiades were present; when no orator dare accuse or oppose him; when you yourselves could pass no vote but what was dictated by your enemies.

In this conjuncture he advised you to commit the city to thirty men and to establish that form of government which Dracontides had prescribed. And when you, provoked by these indignities, even surrounded as you were, began to be in commotion, he declared, and I take yourselves who heard him to witness, that he despised your anger; for that many would concur in his designs and vote whatever seemed good to Lysander and the Lacedæmonians.

Lysander then stood up, and, among other audacious sentiments, declared you to be men of no faith, and that if you did not agree to Theramene's proposal, the question would be no longer about your government, but your safety. As many as were good men, sensible of the snare laid for them, and yielding to the fatality of circumstances, either remained silent or left the assembly with the melancholy though virtuous consolation of not being concerned in passing a vote for the destruction of their country. But a few men of malevolent hearts and corrupt principles continued there, and voted as they were commanded, electing into office ten persons named by Theramenes alone, ten named by the rest of the cabal, and ten who were then present in the assembly. Thus, Athenians, was your destruction complete, when even your votes were no longer free.

Of all this I can give you the evidence of Theramenes himself. He made his defense in the council of his associates by the merit of having performed all that I now lay to his charge. There he asserted that not the Lacedæmonians, but he himself, had caused the revolution, and reproached his colleagues for conspiring against the man to whom they owed their power and to whom they had sworn obedience. Can Theramenes then be called your friend, who, both before and on this occasion, involved you in the greatest calamities; who perished not in your defense, but

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on account of his own crimes; who must have been justly punished, either in the oligarchy, which he dissolved, or in the democracy which he twice subverted; a man ever discontented with his present situations, fond of revolutions, and who, under plausible pretenses, concealed the most villainous designs?

But enough of Theramenes. The time is now come when, insensible to tenderness and to pity, you must be armed with just severity against Eratosthenes and his associates. What avails it to have conquered them in the field, if you be overcome by them in your councils? Do not show them more favor for what they boast they will perform than resentment for what they have already committed; nor, after being at so much pains to become master of their persons, allow them to escape without suffering that punishment which you once sought to inflict, but prove yourselves worthy of that good fortune which has given you power over your enemies. The contest is very unequal between Eratosthenes and you. Formerly he was both judge and accuser, but we, while we accuse, must at the same time make our defense. Those who were innocent, he put to death without trial; to them who are guilty we allow the benefit of law, even though no adequate punishment can ever be inflicted. For should we sacrifice them and their children, would this compensate for the murder of your fathers, your sons, and your brothers?

Should we deprive them of their property, could this indemnify the individuals whom they have beggared, or the State which they have plundered? Though they cannot suffer a punishment adequate to their demerit, they ought not surely on this account to escape. Yet how matchless is the effrontery of Eratosthenes, who being now judged by the very persons whom he formerly injured, still ventures to make his defense before the witnesses of his crimes? What can show more evidently the contempt in which he holds you, or the confidence which he reposes in others? This you ought not to neglect, but hold it for certain that without accomplices he would never have committed such outrages against you, or at present would he venture to defend them. And what can be the motive of those accomplices but to remove their apprehensions on account of what they have already done, and henceforward to acquire the power of acting with impunity?

But I wonder will they attempt to save him by their own merit with the citizens (whom, would to God! they had been as

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ready to protect as he was to annoy), or whether, resting their sole defense on the character of the defendant, they will endeavor, by rhetoric and chicane, to varnish the most flagrant breaches of every law, human and divine? Yet these artful speakers never displayed their eloquence in defending the cause of the innocent or in delivering you from oppression. As to the witnesses who now appear with a view to save him, but by whose testimony he must stand condemned, what can be their opinion of your understanding, if they expect that you will now deliberately pardon those who, after murdering your relations, would not permit you to bury them? Those who, should they now be favored by your simplicity, would again overwhelm you in the common ruin of your country, while your friends whom they put to death cannot again perish in your defense. It is, indeed, very remarkable that though there were so few to undertake your cause, in itself so just, and though none durst show their regard for such as were destroyed by the Thirty without exposing themselves to the like calamity, there should now be so many patrons ready to protect your destroyers and to defend their proceedings.

It is still urged in favor of Eratosthenes that of all the Thirty he was the least culpable and therefore deserves pardon. But surely of all the other Greeks he was the most culpable, and therefore deserves punishment. By passing a just decree you will show your displeasure and your indignation; by acquitting him you become accomplices in his crimes and cannot even make use of his defense. Then you were compelled by the Thirty; but at the present no man can compel you to vote in opposition to your sentiments. Do not, then, accuse yourselves by absolving him. Your decree cannot remain secret; it must be known to your country.

I shall conclude by laying before you the miseries to which you were reduced, that you may see the necessity of taking punishment on the authors of them. And first, you who remained in the city, consider the severity of their government [the government of the Thirty]; you were reduced into such a situation as to be obliged to carry on a war in which, if you were conquered, you partook, indeed, of the same liberty with the conquerors; but if you proved victorious, you remained under the slavery of your tyrants. Consider that, while they enriched their private families, they beggared you by a civil war from which

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you had no advantages to expect, as you could participate with them only in their disgrace. This was the uncommon method by which they secured your fidelity [than which what could be more contemptuous?], not by sharing with you their riches or their power, but by exposing you to that detestation in which they were held by all real lovers of their country. Take vengeance, then, for yourselves when they thus insulted you, and for your countrymen whom they banished. You were formerly enslaved by traitors to their country; you now deliberate and fight and govern in concert with its deliverers.

Avail yourselves of this happy revolution; show that you are worthy of that liberty, which, notwithstanding all their guards,* has been restored; avenge the enemies of the State, and secure its future tranquillity.

To such as remained in Athens, I might still with propriety say a great deal more; but this shall be sufficient. As to you of the Pireum, you will remember that, though you never lost your arms in the battles which you fought, or in the lands which you traversed, yet you suffered by these men what your foreign enemies could never accomplish; and at home, in time of peace, were disarmed by your fellow-citizens. By them, you were banished from the country left you by your fathers.

Their rage, knowing no abatement, pursued you abroad and drove you from one territory to another. Recall the same resentment you then felt. Remember the cruel indignities which you suffered; how you were dragged from the tribunal and the altars; how no place, however sacred, could shelter you against their violence; while others, torn from their wives, their children, their parents, after putting a period to their miserable lives, were deprived of funeral rites. For these tyrants imagined their government to be so firmly established that even the vengeance of the gods was unable to shake it.

But you who escaped immediate death, who fled you knew not whither, no asylum affording you protection; everywhere taking refuge, yet everywhere abandoned; who, leaving your children among strangers or enemies, and destitute of all the necessaries of life, made your way to the Pireum, where, overcoming all opposition, you showed the triumph of virtue over numbers and

*The guards sent by the Lacedæmonians to support the government of the Thirty.

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force, regained the city for yourselves and freedom for your countrymen,—what must have been your situation had you proved unfortunate in the engagement?

Again compelled to fly, no temples, no altars, could have saved you. The children who accompanied you would have been reduced to the vilest servitude; those whom you left behind, deprived of all help, would, at a mean price, have been sold to your enemies.

But why should I mention what might have happened, not being able to relate what was actually done? For it is impossible for one man, in the course of one trial, to enumerate the means which were employed to undermine the power of this State, the arsenals which were demolished, the temples sold or profaned, the citizens banished or murdered, and whose dead bodies were impiously left disinterred.

Those slaughtered citizens now watch your decree, uncertain whether you will prove accomplices in their death, or avengers of their murder.

I will cease accusing. You have heard, you have seen, you have suffered! It only remains for you to give sentence!

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LORD LYTTON

(EDWARD GEORGE EARLE LYTTON BULWER, BARON LYTTON)

(1803–1873)

CELEBRATED as he is for his fiction, Lord Lytton in prose composition is perhaps at his best in such addresses as that delivered at the University of Edinburgh in 1854. Its style is admirable throughout, and its peroration is worthy of the best tradition of English oratory. He was born at London, May 25th, 1803. Graduating at Cambridge in 1826, he entered Parliament in 1831 and served ten years, returning again in 1852 and serving until 1866,—the year he was raised to the peerage as Baron Lytton. In 1858 and 1859 he was Colonial Secretary in Lord Derby's administration. In Parliament he supported Conservative policies, opposing the repeal of the Corn Laws and striving "to elevate the masses in character and in feeling to the standard which Conservatism works in aristocracy." He died at Torquay, January 18th, 1873.

DEMOSTHENES AND THE NOBILITY OF THE CLASSICS

(From the Address Delivered to the Associated Societies of the University of Edinburgh, January 18th, 1854)

ALL men in modern times, famous for their eloquence, have recognized Demosthenes as their model. Many speakers in our own country have literally translated passages from his orations and produced electrical effects upon sober English senators by thoughts first uttered to passionate Athenian crowds. Why is this? Not from the style—the style vanishes in translation. It is because thoughts the noblest appeal to emotions the most masculine and popular. You see in Demosthenes the man accustomed to deal with the practical business of men—to generalize details, to render complicated affairs clear to the ordinary understanding—and, at the same time, to connect the material interests of life with the sentiments that warm the breast and exalt the soul. It is the brain of an accomplished statesman in

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unison with a generous heart, thoroughly in earnest, beating loud and high — with the passionate desire to convince breathless thousands how to baffle a danger and to save their country.

A little time longer and Athens is free no more. The iron force of Macedon has banished liberty from the silenced Agora. But liberty had already secured to herself a gentle refuge in the groves of the Academy — there, still to the last, the Grecian intellect maintains the same social, humanizing, practical aspect. The immense mind of Aristotle gathers together, as in a treasure-house, for future ages, all that was valuable in the knowledge that informs us of the earth on which we dwell — the political constitutions of States and their results on the character of nations, the science of ethics, the analysis of ideas, natural history, physical science, critical investigation, *omne immensum peragravit;* and all that he collects from wisdom he applies to the earthly uses of man. Yet it is not by the tutor of Alexander, but by the pupil of Socrates, that our vast debt to the Grecian mind is completed. When we remount from Aristotle to his great master Plato, it is as if we looked from nature up to nature's God. There, amidst the decline of freedom, the corruption of manners — just before the date when, with the fall of Athens, the beautiful ideal of sensuous life faded mournfully away — there, on that verge of time, stands the consoling Plato, preparing philosophy to receive the Christian dispensation, by opening the gates of the Infinite, and proclaiming the immortality of the soul. Thus the Grecian genius, ever kindly and benignant, first appears to awaken man from the sloth of the senses, to enlarge the boundaries of self, to connect the desire of glory with the sanctity of household ties, to raise up, in luminous contrast with the inert despotism of the old Eastern World, the energies of freemen, the duties of citizens; and, finally, accomplishing its mission as the visible Iris to States and heroes, it melts into the rainbow, announcing a more sacred covenant, and spans the streams of the heathen Orcus with an arch lost in the Christian's heaven.

I have so exhausted your patience in what I have thus said of the Grecian literature, that I must limit closely my remarks upon the Roman. And here, indeed, the subject does not require the same space. In Greek literature all is fresh and original; its very art is but the happiest selection from natural objects, knit together with the zone of the careless Graces. But Latin literature is borrowed and adapted, and, like all imitations, we per-

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ceive at once that it is artificial. But in this imitation it has such exquisite taste, in this artificiality there is so much refinement of polish, so much stateliness of pomp, that it assumes an originality of its own. It has not found its jewels in native mines, but it takes them with a conqueror's hand and weaves them into regal diadems. Dignity and polish are the especial attributes of Latin literature in its happiest age; it betrays the habitual influence of an aristocracy, wealthy, magnificent, and learned. To borrow a phrase from Persius, its words sweep along as if clothed with the toga. Whether we take the sonorous lines of Virgil or the swelling periods of Cicero, the easier dignity of Sallust, or the patrician simplicity of Cæsar, we are sensible that we are with a race accustomed to a measured decorum, a majestic self-control, unfamiliar to the more lively impulse of small Greek communities. There is a greater demarcation between the intellect of the writer and the homely sense of the multitude. The Latin writers seek to link themselves to posterity rather through a succession of select and well-bred admirers than by cordial identification with the passions and interests of the profane vulgar. Even Horace himself, so brilliant and easy, and so conscious of his *monumentum ære perennius*, affects disdain of popular applause and informs us, with a kind of pride, that his satires had no vogue in the haunts of the common people. Every bold schoolboy takes at once to Homer, but it is only the fine taste of the scholar that thoroughly appreciates Virgil, and only the experienced man of the world who discovers all the delicate wit, all the exquisite urbanity of sentiment, that win our affection to Horace in proportion as we advance in life. In short, the Greek writers warm and elevate our emotions as men — the Latin writers temper emotions to the stately reserve of highborn gentlemen. The Greeks fire us more to the inspirations of poetry, or, as in Plato and parts of Demosthenes, to that sublimer prose to which poetry is akin; but the Latin writers are, perhaps, on the whole, though I say it with hesitation, safer models for that accurate construction and decorous elegance by which classical prose attains critical perfection. Nor is this elegance effeminate, but, on the contrary, nervous and robust, though, like the statue of Apollo, the strength of the muscle is concealed by the undulation of the curves. But there is this, as a general result from the study of ancient letters, whether Greek or Roman,—both are the literature of grand races, of free men and brave hearts; both

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abound in generous thoughts and high examples; both, whatever their occasional license, inculcate, upon the whole, the habitual practice of manly virtues; both glow with the love of country; both are animated by the desire of fame and honor. Therefore, whatever be our future profession and pursuit, however they may take us from the scholastic closet and forbid any frequent return to the classic studies of our youth, still he whose early steps have been led into that land of demigods and heroes will find that its very air has enriched through life the blood of his thoughts, that he quits the soil with a front which the Greek has directed towards the stars, and a step which imperial Rome has disciplined to the march that carried her eagles round the world.

Not in vain do these lessons appeal to the youth of Scotland. From this capital, still as from the elder Athens, stream the lights of philosophy and learning. But your countrymen are not less renowned for the qualities of action than for those of thought. And you whom I address will carry with you, in your several paths to fortune, your national attributes of reflective judgment and dauntless courage. I see an eventful and stirring age expand before the rising generation. In that grand contest between new ideas and ancient forms, which may be still more keenly urged before this century expires, whatever your differences of political opinion, I adjure you to hold fast to the vital principle of civilization. What is that principle? It is the union of liberty with order. The art to preserve this union has often baffled the wisest statesmen in stormy times; but the task becomes easy at once, if the people whom they seek to guide will but carry into public affairs the same prudent consideration which commands prosperity in private business. You have already derived from your ancestors an immense capital of political freedom; increase it if you will,—but by solid investments, not by hazardous speculations. You will hear much of the necessity of progress, and truly,—for where progress ends decline invariably begins,—but remember that the healthful progress of society is like the natural life of man: it consists in the gradual and harmonious development of all its constitutional powers, all its component parts, and you introduce weakness and disease into the whole system, whether you attempt to stint or to force the growth. The old homely rule you prescribe to individuals is applicable to a State: "Keep the limbs warm by exercise, and keep the head cool by temperance." But new ideas do not invade only our

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political systems; you will find them wherever you turn. Philosophy has altered the directions it favored in the last century — it enters less into metaphysical inquiry; it questions less the relationships between man and his Maker; it assumes its practical character as the investigator of external nature, and seeks to adapt agencies before partially concealed to the positive uses of man. Here I leave you to your own bold researches; you cannot be much misled if you remember the maxim to observe with vigilance and inquire with conscientious care. Nor is it necessary that I should admonish the sons of religious Scotland that the most daring speculations as to nature may be accompanied with the humblest faith in those sublime doctrines that open heaven alike to the wisest philosopher and the simplest peasant. I do not presume to arrogate the office of a preacher; but, believe me, as a man of books and a man of the world, that you inherit a religion which, in its most familiar form, in the lowly prayer that you have learned from your mother's lips, will save you from the temptations to which life is exposed more surely than all which the pride of philosophy can teach. Nor can I believe that the man will ever go very far or very obstinately wrong who, by the mere habit of thanksgiving and prayer, will be forced to examine his conscience even but once a day and remember that the eye of the Almighty is upon him.

One word further. Nothing to my mind preserves a brave people true and firm to its hereditary virtues more than a devout though liberal spirit of nationality. And it is not because Scotland is united with England that the Scotchman should forget the glories of his annals, the tombs of his ancestors, or relax one jot of his love for his native soil. I say not this to flatter you,— I say it not for Scotland alone. I say it for the sake of the empire. For sure I am that, if ever the step of the invader should land upon these kindred shores — there, wherever the national spirit is the most strongly felt — there, where the local affections most animate the breast —, there will our defenders be the bravest. It would ill become me to enter into the special grounds of debate now at issue, but permit me to remind you that, while pressing with your accustomed spirit for whatever you may deem to be equal rights, you would be unjust to your own fame if you did not feel that the true majesty of Scotland needs neither the pomp of courts nor the blazonry of heralds. What though Holyrood be desolate — what though no king holds

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revels in its halls? — the empire of Scotland has but extended its range, and, blended with England, under the daughter of your ancient kings, peoples the Australian wilds that lay beyond the chart of Columbus and rules over the Indian realms that eluded the grasp of Alexander. That empire does not suffice for you. It may decay — it may perish. More grand is the domain you have won over human thought, and identified with the eternal progress of intellect and freedom. From the charter of that domain no ceremonial can displace the impression of your seal. In the van of that progress no blazon can flaunt before that old Lion of Scotland [pointing to the flag suspended opposite]. This is the empire that you will adorn in peace; this is the empire that, if need be, you will defend in war. It is not here that I would provoke one difference in political opinion, — but surely you, the sons of Scotland, who hold both fame and power upon the same tenure as that which secures civilization from lawless force, — surely you are not the men who could contemplate with folded arms the return of the Dark Ages and quietly render up the haven that commands Asia on the one side and threatens Europe on the other, to the barbaric ambition of some Alaric of the North. But, whether in reluctant war or in happier peace, I can but bid you to be mindful of your fathers! Learn from them how duties fulfilled in the world become honors after death; and in your various callings continue to maintain for Scotland her sublime alliance with every power of mind that can defend or instruct, soothe or exalt humanity.

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POETS' CORNER, WESTMINSTER ABBEY

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MACAULAY and Sheridan are both buried in the Poets' Corner—not by accident but by right of having made a different application of the same gifts which made them orators. The clauses of Macaulay's orations often balance each other almost as exactly in musical time as the verses of his Lays of Ancient Rome. Many of the greatest orators of England and France were poets. No doubt the others could have been had they taken the pains.

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THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY

(BARON MACAULAY)

(1800–1859)

IT was said of Macaulay's conversation that those who heard him never had the need — and seldom had the time — to think twice in order to understand him.

That he deserved this compliment — one of the highest which could be paid him as a writer — he shows alike in his essays, his history, his speeches, and his poems. Since the time of Cicero, he is the greatest master of lucid and exhaustive statement. Indeed, it may be said of him without great risk of exaggeration, that in the artistic handling of cumulative clauses he is one of Cicero's greatest pupils, frequently equaling Cicero at his best, and sometimes surpassing him. Generous in his sympathies, liberal in his ideas, learned as few men of his own time or any other have been, having a memory retentive almost beyond belief, and an almost unequaled facility of expression, he became easily one of the ablest men of the nineteenth century, lacking nothing of greatness that the cultivation of the intellect could give him. What he did lack Emerson tells us plainly and comprehensively. "The brilliant Macaulay," he says, "who expresses the tone of the English governing classes of his day, explicitly teaches that 'good' means 'good to eat,' 'good to wear' — a material commodity."

Undoubtedly Macaulay believed in comfort. He has been called a very happy man, and he was certainly a very comfortable one. Never married, knowing nothing of the education of the deepest emotions which come from life in the family; admired as no other English essayist and historian had ever been; commanding unprecedented prices for his work; listened to with respect in the Cabinet and with rapt attention in Parliament; surrounded at home by well-loved books, whose contents he assimilated seemingly without effort; devoted to his work in literature; full of the broad sympathies with progress which made his public life a blessing to himself and to the world, — he lacked only the contradiction, the disturbance, the difficulty which Mr. Gladstone calls "the rude and rocking cradle of every kind of excellence" to make him a greater orator than Burke, a greater statesman than Chatham. But, taking his life for what it

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was and his work for what it is, there is room in reason and in gratitude for nothing but thanks and praise. As an orator he illustrates the same perfection of lucid style which immortalizes his Essays. This is shown in his address, 'The Literature of England,' as it is in the abler address, 'Popular Education.' It must not be forgotten in considering the latter address, that however commonplace the great ideas it expresses may now seem to be, his genius in giving them expression so fit and memorable could not have failed to do much to give them that currency and vogue which finally achieve their triumph in becoming the commonplace.

Macaulay was born October 25th, 1800, and educated at Trinity College, Cambridge. He entered public life as a Member of Parliament in 1830 and divided his time between public affairs and literature until his death, December 28th, 1859. He was a member of the Supreme Council of India, and, after his return to England, served twice in the Cabinet. In 1857 he was raised to the peerage as "Baron Macaulay of Rothley." With Brougham he forms the connecting link between the great English Whig orators of the American Revolutionary period and the "Gladstone Liberals" of the second half of the nineteenth century. W. V. B.

THE LITERATURE OF ENGLAND

(Delivered at the opening of the Edinburgh Philosophical Institution, on November 4th, 1846)

I THANK you, gentlemen, for this cordial reception. I have thought it right to steal a short time from duties not unimportant for the purpose of lending my aid to an undertaking calculated, as I think, to raise the credit and to promote the best interests of the city, which has so many claims on my gratitude.

The Directors of our Institution have requested me to propose to you as a toast 'The Literature of Britain.' They could not have assigned to me a more agreeable duty. The chief object of this Institution is, I conceive, to impart knowledge through the medium of our own language. Edinburgh is already rich in libraries worthy of her fame as a seat of literature and a seat of jurisprudence. A man of letters can here, without difficulty, obtain access to repositories filled with the wisdom of many ages and of many nations. But something was still wanting. We still wanted a library open to that large, that important, that respectable class which, though by no means destitute of liberal

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curiosity or of sensibility to literary pleasures, is yet forced to be content with what is written in our own tongue. For that class especially, I do not say exclusively, this library is intended. Our directors, I hope, will not be satisfied — I as a member shall certainly not be satisfied — till we possess a noble and complete collection of English books, — till it is impossible to seek in vain on our shelves for a single English book which is valuable either on account of matter or on account of manner; which throws any light on our civil, ecclesiastical, intellectual, or social history; which, in short, can afford either useful instruction or harmless amusement.

From such a collection, placed within the reach of that large and valuable class which I have mentioned, I am disposed to expect great good. And when I say this, I do not take into the account those rare cases to which my valued friend, the Lord Provost, so happily alluded. It is, indeed, not impossible that some man of genius who may enrich our literature with imperishable eloquence and song, or who may extend the empire of our race over matter, may feel in our reading room, for the first time, the consciousness of powers yet undeveloped. It is not impossible that our volumes may suggest the first thought of something great to some future Burns, or Watt, or Arkwright. But I do not speak of these extraordinary cases. What I confidently anticipate is that, through the whole of that class whose benefit we have peculiarly in view, there will be a moral and intellectual improvement; that many hours, which might otherwise be wasted in folly or in vice, will be employed in pursuits which, while they afford the highest and most lasting pleasure, are not only harmless, but purifying and elevating. My own experience, my own observation, justifies me in entertaining this hope. I have had opportunities, both in this and in other countries, of forming some estimate of the effect which is likely to be produced by a good collection of books on a society of young men. There is, I will venture to say, no judicious commanding officer of a regiment who will not tell you that the vicinity of a valuable library will improve perceptibly the whole character of a mess. I well knew one eminent military servant of the East India Company, a man of great and various accomplishments, a man honorably distinguished both in war and in diplomacy, a man who enjoyed the confidence of some of the greatest generals and statesmen of our time. When I asked him how, having

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left his country while still a boy, and having passed his youth at military stations in India, he had been able to educate himself, his answer was, that he had been stationed in the neighborhood of an excellent library, that he had been allowed free access to the books, and that they had, at the most critical time of his life, decided his character, and saved him from being a mere smoking, card-playing, punch-drinking lounger.

Some of the objections which have been made to such institutions as ours have been so happily and completely refuted by my friend, the Lord Provost, and by the Most Reverend Prelate, who has honored us with his presence this evening, that it would be idle to say again what has been so well said. There is, however, one objection which, with your permission, I will notice. Some men, of whom I wish to speak with great respect, are haunted, as it seems to me, with an unreasonable fear of what they call superficial knowledge. Knowledge, they say, which really deserves the name, is a great blessing to mankind, the ally of virtue, the harbinger of freedom. But such knowledge must be profound. A crowd of people who have a smattering of mathematics, a smattering of astronomy, a smattering of chemistry, who have read a little poetry and a little history, is dangerous to the commonwealth. Such half knowledge is worse than ignorance. And then the authority of Pope is vouched. Drink deep or taste not; shallow draughts intoxicate; drink largely and that will sober you. I must confess that the danger which alarms these gentlemen never seemed to me very serious; and my reason is this: that I never could prevail on any person who pronounced superficial knowledge a curse and profound knowledge a blessing to tell me what was his standard of profundity. The argument proceeds on the supposition that there is some line between profound and superficial knowledge similar to that which separates truth from falsehood. I know of no such line. When we talk of men of deep science, do we mean that they have got to the bottom or near the bottom of science? Do we mean that they know all that is capable of being known? Do we mean even that they know, in their own special department, all that the smatterers of the next generation will know? Why, if we compare the little truth that we know with the infinite mass of truth which we do not know, we are all shallow together, and the greatest philosophers that ever lived would be the first to confess their shallowness. If we could call up the

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first of human beings, if we could call up Newton and ask him whether, even in those sciences in which he had no rival, he considered himself as profoundly knowing, he would have told us that he was but a smatterer like ourselves and that the difference between his knowledge and ours vanished when compared with the quantity of truth still undiscovered, just as the distance between a person at the foot of Ben Lomond and one at the top of Ben Lomond vanishes when compared with the distance of the fixed stars.

It is evident, then, that those who are afraid of superficial knowledge do not mean by superficial knowledge, knowledge which is superficial when compared with the whole quantity of truth capable of being known. For, in that sense, all human knowledge is, and always has been, and always must be, superficial. What, then, is the standard? Is it the same two years together in any country? Is it the same, at the same moment, in any two countries? Is it not notorious that the profundity of one age is the shallowness of the next; that the profundity of one nation is the shallowness of a neighboring nation? Ramohun Roy passed, among Hindoos, for a man of profound Western learning; but he would have been but a very superficial member of this institute. Strabo was justly entitled to be called a profound geographer eighteen hundred years ago; but a teacher of geography who had never heard of America would now be laughed at by the girls of a boarding school. What would now be thought of the greatest chemist of 1746 or of the greatest geologist of 1746? The truth is that, in all experimental science, mankind is, of necessity, constantly advancing. Every generation, of course, has its front rank and its rear rank; but the rear rank of a later generation occupies the ground which was occupied by the front rank of a former generation.

You remember Gulliver's adventures. First he is shipwrecked in a country of little men, and he is a Colossus among them. He strides over the walls of their capital; he stands higher than the cupola of their great temple; he tugs after him a royal fleet; he stretches his legs, and a royal army, with drums beating and colors flying, marches through the gigantic arch; he devours a whole granary for breakfast, eats a herd of cattle for dinner, and washes down his meal with all the hogsheads of a cellar. In his next voyage he is among men sixty feet high. He who in Lilliput used to take people up in his hand in order that he

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might be able to hear them, is himself taken up in the hands and held to the ears of his masters. It is all that he can do to defend himself with his hanger against the rats and mice. The court ladies amuse themselves with seeing him fight wasps and frogs; the monkey runs off with him to the chimney top; the dwarf drops him into the cream jug and leaves him to swim for his life. Now, was Gulliver a tall or a short man? Why, in his own house at Rotherhithe, he was thought a man of the ordinary stature. Take him to Lilliput, and he is Quinbus Flestrin, the Man Mountain. Take him to Brobdingnag, and he is Grildig, the little Manikin. It is the same in science. The pigmies of one society would have passed for giants in another.

It might be amusing to institute a comparison between one of the profoundly learned men of the thirteenth century and one of the superficial students who will frequent our library. Take the great philosopher of the time of Henry III. of England, or Alexander III. of Scotland, the man renowned all over the island, and even as far as Italy and Spain, as the first of astronomers and chemists. What is his astronomy? He is a firm believer in the Ptolemaic system. He never heard of the law of gravitation. Tell him that the succession of day and night is caused by the turning of the earth on its axis. Tell him that in consequence of this motion, the polar diameter of the earth is shorter than the equatorial diameter. Tell him that the succession of summer and winter is caused by the revolution of the earth round the sun. If he does not set you down for an idiot, he lays an information against you before the Bishop and has you burned for a heretic. To do him justice, however, if he is ill informed on these points, there are other points on which Newton and Laplace were mere children when compared with him. He can cast your nativity. He knows what will happen when Saturn is in the House of Life, and what will happen when Mars is in conjunction with the Dragon's Tail. He can read in the stars whether an expedition will be successful; whether the next harvest will be plentiful; which of your children will be fortunate in marriage, and which will be lost at sea. Happy the State, happy the family, which is guided by the counsels of so profound a man! And what but mischief, public and private, can we expect from the temerity and conceit of sciolists who know no more about the heavenly bodies than what they have learned from Sir John Herschel's beautiful little volume? But, to speak

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seriously, is not a little truth better than a great deal of falsehood? Is not the man who, in the evenings of a fortnight, has acquired a correct notion of the solar system a more profound astronomer than a man who has passed thirty years in reading lectures about the *primum mobile* and in drawing schemes of horoscopes?

Or take chemistry. Our philosopher of the thirteenth century shall be, if you please, a universal genius, chemist as well as astronomer. He has, perhaps, got so far as to know that if he mix charcoal and saltpetre in certain proportions and then apply fire, there will be an explosion which will shatter all his retorts and aludels; and he is proud of knowing what will, in a later age, be familiar to all the idle boys in the kingdom. But there are departments of science in which he need not fear the rivalry of Black, or Lavoisier, or Cavendish, or Davy. He is in hot pursuit of the Philosopher's Stone, of the stone that is to bestow wealth, and health, and longevity. He has a long array of strangely shaped vessels, filled with red oil and white oil, constantly boiling. The moment of projection is at hand, and soon all his kettles and gridirons will be turned into pure gold. Poor Professor Faraday can do nothing of the sort. I should deceive you if I held out to you the smallest hope that he will ever turn your halfpence into sovereigns. But if you can induce him to give at our institute a course of lectures such as I once heard him give at the Royal Institution to children in the Christmas holidays, I can promise you that you will know more about the effects produced on bodies by heat and moisture than was known to some alchemists who, in the Middle Ages, were thought worthy of the patronage of kings.

As it has been in science, so it has been in literature. Compare the literary acquirements of the great men of the thirteenth century with those which will be within the reach of many who will frequent our reading room. As to Greek learning, the profound man of the thirteenth century was absolutely on a par with the superficial man of the nineteenth. In the modern languages, there was not, six hundred years ago, a single volume which is now read. The library of our profound scholar must have consisted entirely of Latin books. We will suppose him to have had both a large and choice collection. We will allow him thirty, nay forty manuscripts, and among them a Virgil, a Terence, a Lucan, an Ovid, a Statius, a great deal of Livy, a great

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deal of Cicero. In allowing him all this, we are dealing most liberally with him; for it is much more likely that his shelves were filled with treatises on school divinity and canon law, composed by writers whose names the world has very wisely forgotten. But even if we suppose him to have possessed all that is most valuable in the literature of Rome, I say with perfect confidence that, both in respect of intellectual improvement and in respect of intellectual pleasures, he was far less favorably situated than a man who now, knowing only the English language, has a bookcase filled with the best English works. Our great man of the Middle Ages could not form any conception of any tragedy approaching 'Macbeth' or 'Lear,' or of any comedy equal to 'Henry IV.' or 'Twelfth Night.' The best epic poem that he had read was far inferior to the 'Paradise Lost'; and all the tomes of his philosophers were not worth a page of the 'Novum Organum.'

The 'Novum Organum,' it is true, persons who know only English must read in a translation, and this reminds me of one great advantage which such persons will derive from our institution. They will, in our library, be able to form some acquaintance with the master minds of remote ages and foreign countries. A large part of what is best worth knowing in ancient literature, and in the literature of France, Italy, Germany, and Spain, has been translated into our own tongue. It is scarcely possible that the translation of any book of the highest class can be equal to the original. But, though the finer touches may be lost in the copy, the great outlines will remain. An Englishman who never saw the frescoes in the Vatican may yet, from engravings, form some notion of the exquisite grace of Raphael and of the sublimity and energy of Michael Angelo. And so the genius of Homer is seen in the poorest version of the 'Iliad'; the genius of Cervantes is seen in the poorest version of 'Don Quixote.' Let it not be supposed that I wish to dissuade any person from studying either the ancient languages or the languages of modern Europe. Far from it. I prize most highly those keys of knowledge, and I think that no man who has leisure for study ought to be content until he possesses several of them. I have always much admired a saying of the Emperor Charles V.: — "When I learn a new language, I feel as if I had got a new soul." But I would console those who have not time to make themselves linguists, by assuring them that, by means of their own mother tongue, they may

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obtain ready access to vast intellectual treasures, to treasures such as might have been envied by the greatest linguists of the age of Charles V., to treasures surpassing those which were possessed by Aldus, by Erasmus, and by Melanchthon.

And thus I am brought back to the point from which I started. I have been requested to invite you to fill your glasses to the Literature of Britain; to that literature, the brightest, the purest, the most durable of all the glories of our country; to that literature, so rich in precious truth and precious fiction; to that literature which boasts of the prince of all poets and of the prince of all philosophers; to that literature which has exercised an influence wider than that of our commerce, and mightier than that of our arms; to that literature which has taught France the principles of liberty, and has furnished Germany with models of art; to that literature which forms a tie closer than the tie of consanguinity between us and the commonwealths of the Valley of the Mississippi; to that literature before the light of which impious and cruel superstitions are fast taking flight on the banks of the Ganges; to that literature which will, in future ages, instruct and delight the unborn millions who will have turned the Australasian and Caffrarian deserts into cities and gardens. To the Literature of Britain, then! And, wherever British literature spreads, may it be attended by British virtue and by British freedom!

POPULAR EDUCATION

(From a Speech in the House of Commons, April 19th, 1847)

THE education of the people is not only a means, but the best means, of attaining that which all allow to be a chief end of government; and, if this be so, it passes my faculties to understand how any man can gravely contend that government has nothing to do with the education of the people.

My confidence in my opinion is strengthened when I recollect that I hold that opinion in common with all the greatest lawgivers, statesmen, and political philosophers of all nations and ages, with all the most illustrious champions of civil and spiritual freedom, and especially with those men whose names were once held in the highest veneration by the Protestant Dissenters of England. I might cite many of the most venerable names of

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the Old World, but I would rather cite the example of that country which the supporters of the Voluntary system here are always recommending to us as a pattern. Go back to the days when the little society which has expanded into the opulent and enlightened Commonwealth of Massachusetts began to exist. Our modern Dissenters will scarcely, I think, venture to speak contumeliously of those Puritans whose spirit Laud and his High Commission Court could not subdue, of those Puritans who were willing to leave home and kindred, and all the comforts and refinements of civilized life, to cross the ocean to fix their abodes in forests among wild beasts and wild men rather than commit the sin of performing, in the House of God, one gesture which they believed to be displeasing to him. Did those brave exiles think it inconsistent with civil or religious freedom that the State should take charge of the education of the people? No, sir; one of the earliest laws enacted by the Puritan colonists was that every township, as soon as the Lord had increased it to the number of fifty houses, should appoint one to teach all children to write and read, and that every township of a hundred houses should set up a grammar school. Nor have the descendants of those who made this law ever ceased to hold that the public authorities were bound to provide the means of public instruction. Nor is this doctrine confined to New England. «Educate the people» was the first admonition addressed by Penn to the colony which he founded. «Educate the people» was the legacy of Washington to the nation which he had saved. «Educate the people» was the unceasing exhortation of Jefferson; and I quote Jefferson with peculiar pleasure, because, of all the eminent men that have ever lived, Adam Smith himself not excepted, Jefferson was the one who most abhorred everything like meddling on the part of governments. Yet the chief business of his later years was to establish a good system of State education in Virginia.

And against such authority as this, what have you who take the other side to show? Can you mention a single great philosopher, a single man distinguished by his zeal for liberty, humanity, and truth, who from the beginning of the world down to the time of this present Parliament ever held your doctrines? You can oppose to the unanimous voice of all the wise and good, of all ages and of both hemispheres, nothing but a clamor which was first heard a few months ago, a clamor in which you can-

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not join without condemning, not only all whose memory you profess to hold in reverence, but even your former selves.

This new theory of politics has at least the merit of originality. It may be fairly stated thus: All men have hitherto been utterly in the wrong as to the nature and objects of civil government. The great truth, hidden from every preceding generation, and at length revealed, in the year 1846, to some highly respectable ministers and elders of dissenting congregations, is this: Government is simply a great hangman. Government ought to do nothing except by harsh and degrading means. The one business of Government is to handcuff, and lock up, and scourge, and shoot, and stab, and strangle. It is odious tyranny in a government to attempt to prevent crime by informing the understanding and elevating the moral feeling of a people. A statesman may see hamlets turned, in the course of one generation, into great seaport towns and manufacturing towns. He may know that on the character of the vast population which is collected in those wonderful towns, depends the prosperity, the peace, the very existence of society. But he must not think of forming that character. He is an enemy of public liberty if he attempt to prevent those hundreds of thousands of his countrymen from becoming mere Yahoos. He may, indeed, build barrack after barrack to overawe them. If they break out into insurrection, he may send cavalry to sabre them; he may mow them down with grape shot; he may hang them, draw them, quarter them — anything but teach them. He may see, and may shudder as he sees, throughout large rural districts, millions of infants growing up from infancy to manhood as ignorant, as mere slaves of sensual appetite, as the beasts that perish. No matter. He is a traitor to the cause of civil and religious freedom if he does not look on with folded arms, while absurd hopes and evil passions ripen in that rank soil. He must wait for the day of his harvest. He must wait till the Jaquerie comes, till farmhouses are burning, till threshing machines are broken in pieces; and then begins his business, which is simply to send one poor ignorant savage to the county gaol, and another to the antipodes, and a third to the gallows.

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A TRIBUTE TO THE JEWS

(Delivered in the House of Commons, April 17th, 1833)

THE honorable Member for Oldham tells us that the Jews are naturally a mean race, a sordid race, a money-getting race; that they are averse to all honorable callings; that they neither sow nor reap; that they have neither flocks nor herds; that usury is the only pursuit for which they are fit; that they are destitute of all elevated and amiable sentiments. Such, sir, has in every age been the reasoning of bigots. They never fail to plead in justification of persecution the vices which persecution has engendered. England has been to the Jews less than half a country, and we revile them because they do not feel for England more than a half patriotism. We treat them as slaves, and wonder that they do not regard us as brethren. We drive them to mean occupations, and then reproach them for not embracing honorable professions. We long forbade them to possess land, and we complain that they chiefly occupy themselves in trade. We shut them out from all the paths of ambition, and then we despise them for taking refuge in avarice. During many ages we have, in all our dealing with them, abused our immense superiority of force, and then we are disgusted because they have recourse to that cunning which is the natural and universal defense of the weak against the violence of the strong. But were they always a mere money-changing, money-getting, money-hoarding race? Nobody knows better than my honorable friend, the Member for the University of Oxford, that there is nothing in their national character which unfits them for the highest duties of citizens. He knows that in the infancy of civilization, when our island was as savage as New Guinea, when letters and arts were still unknown to Athens, when scarcely a thatched hut stood on what was afterwards the site of Rome, this contemned people had their fenced cities and cedar palaces, their splendid Temple, their fleets of merchant ships, their schools of sacred learning, their great statesmen and soldiers, their natural philosophers, their historians, and their poets. What nation ever contended more manfully against overwhelming odds for its independence and religion? What nation ever in its last agonies gave such signal proofs of what may be accomplished by a brave despair? And if, in the course of many centuries, the oppressed

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descendants of warriors and sages have degenerated from the qualities of their fathers; if, while excluded from the blessings of law, and bowed down under the yoke of slavery, they have contracted some of the vices of outlaws and of slaves, shall we consider this as matter of reproach to them? Shall we not rather consider it as matter of shame and remorse to ourselves? Let us do justice to them. Let us open to them the door of the House of Commons. Let us open to them every career in which ability and energy can be displayed. Till we have done this, let us not presume to say that there is no genius among the countrymen of Isaiah,—no heroism among the descendants of the Maccabees.

Sir, in supporting the motion of my honorable friend, I am, I firmly believe, supporting the honor and the interests of the Christian religion. I should think that I insulted that religion if I said that it cannot stand unaided by intolerant laws. Without such laws it was established, and without such laws it may be maintained. It triumphed over the superstitions of the most refined and of the most savage nations, over the graceful mythology of Greece and the bloody idolatry of the northern forests. It prevailed over the power and policy of the Roman Empire. It tamed the barbarians by whom that empire was overthrown. But all these victories were gained, not by the help of intolerance, but in spite of the opposition of intolerance. The whole history of Christianity proves that she has little, indeed, to fear from persecution as a foe, but much to bear from persecution as an ally. May she long continue to bless our country with her benignant influence, strong in her sublime philosophy, strong in her spotless morality, strong in those internal and external evidences to which the most powerful and comprehensive of human intellects have yielded assent, the last solace of those who have outlived every earthly hope, the last restraint of those who are raised above every earthly fear! But let not us, mistaking her character and her interests, fight the battle of truth with weapons of error, and endeavor to support by oppression that religion which first taught the human race the great lesson of universal charity.

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CONSENT OR FORCE IN GOVERNMENT

(From a Speech in the House of Commons, October 10th, 1831)

IT IS easy to say: "Be bold; be firm; defy intimidation; let the law have its course; the law is strong enough to put down the seditious." Sir, we have heard this blustering before, and we know in what it ended. It is the blustering of little men, whose lot has fallen on a great crisis. Xerxes scourging the waves, Canute commanding the waves to recede from his footstool, were but types of the folly. The law has no eyes; the law has no hands; the law is nothing — nothing but a piece of paper printed by the king's printer, with the king's arms at the top — till public opinion breathes the breath of life into the dead letter. We found this in Ireland. The elections of 1826 — the Clare election, two years later — proved the folly of those who think that nations are governed by wax and parchment; and, at length, in the close of 1828, the government had only one plain alternative before it — concession or civil war.

I know only two ways in which societies can permanently be governed — by public opinion and by the sword. A government having at its command the armies, the fleets, and the revenues of Great Britain, might possibly hold Ireland by the sword. So Oliver Cromwell held Ireland; so William III. held it; so Mr. Pitt held it; so the Duke of Wellington might, perhaps, have held it. But to govern Great Britain by the sword — so wild a thought has never, I will venture to say, occurred to any public man of any party; and, if any man were frantic enough to make the attempt, he would find, before three days had expired, that there is no better sword than that which is fashioned out of a plowshare! But if not by the sword, how are the people to be governed? I understand how the peace is kept at New York. It is by the assent and support of the people. I understand, also, how the peace is kept at Milan. It is by the bayonets of the Austrian soldiers. But how the peace is to be kept when you have neither the popular assent nor the military force, — how the peace is to be kept in England by a government acting on the principles of the present opposition, — I do not understand.

Sir, we read that, in old times, when the villeins were driven to revolt by oppression, — when the castles of the nobility were

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burned to the ground,— when the warehouses of London were pillaged,— when a hundred thousand insurgents appeared in arms on Blackheath,— when a foul murder, perpetrated in their presence, had raised their passions to madness,— when they were looking round for some captain to succeed and avenge him whom they had lost,— just then, before Hob Miller, or Tom Carter, or Jack Straw, could place himself at their head, the King rode up to them, and exclaimed: "I will be your leader!" — and at once the infuriated multitude laid down their arms, submitted to his guidance, dispersed at his command. Herein let us imitate him. Let us say to the people: "We are your leaders,— we, your own House of Commons." This tone it is our interest and our duty to take. The circumstances admit of no delay. Even while I speak, the moments are passing away,— the irrevocable moments, pregnant with the destiny of a great people. The country is in danger; it may be saved: we can save it. This is the way — this is the time. In our hands are the issues of great good and great evil — the issues of the life and death of the State.

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SIR JOHN ALEXANDER MACDONALD

(1815–1891)

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD, who while he lived was called "the perpetual Premier of Canada," was one of the most effective men who have figured in the political life of North America during the nineteenth century. He attempted to do and did do for the vast country north of the United States what Bismarck did in federating and nationalizing Germany. At his death in 1891 he was compared to the greatest statesmen of his day. In his method he was said to be "Beaconsfield over again." "He wished distinctly," said the London Spectator, "to make of the northern half of the North American Continent a great and powerful State,—to weld all the peoples on it into a united nation, and to do this as long as possible under the shadow of the British throne."

It is for this work, marking him the strongest Canadian Conservative of the nineteenth century, that he chiefly stands, but he did scarcely less notable work as a railway builder, and one of the greatest episodes of his political life was the successful Liberal attack on his party in 1873, when it was charged that the American promoters of the Canadian Pacific Company, of which Sir Hugh Allan was president, had contributed largely to Canadian Conservative campaign funds. After the Parliament had been prorogued, the Liberals denounced the prorogation, and in opening his speech on the whole subject, Sir John discussed prerogative and popular rights in a way which gave this part of his speech a lasting value as an expression of typical Conservative views. The peroration of this speech on the Washington Treaty is perhaps the best example of his thoroughly business-like method as a speaker.

He was born in Glasgow, Scotland, January 11th, 1815, but lived in Canada from childhood. Called to the bar in 1836, he entered the Canadian Parliament (the old legislative assembly) as a Conservative in 1844, assuming very soon the leadership he held until his death. He was a member of the Executive Council and Receiver General in 1847; Prime Minister in 1857 (for upper Canada) and 1858; again Prime Minister (after the Confederation), from 1868 to 1873; and for a third time from 1878 to his death in 1891. Of his work in confederating Canada, John Francis Waters, of Ottawa, wrote in 1890:—

"From March 30th, 1864, until the great measure of Confederation was an accomplished fact, Sir John sat in the assembly as leader of the Government

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SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD.

After a Photograph by Topley, Ottawa.

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forces. . . . The Conference at Charlottetown in 1864 was the precursor of the famous Conference of Quebec, held in the same year, to formulate a plan for the union of all the possessions of the Crown on the continent of North America. The Conference at Charlottetown had been originally convened merely to effect the union of the Maritime Provinces; but the evolution of the nobler and vaster plan was thenceforth inevitable. The London Colonial Conference, of which Sir John Macdonald was chairman, after having been a delegate at the two conferences just named, was in session in 1866–67, when the Dominion of Canada received from the Parliament of the United Kingdom its charter and constitution in the shape of that act so often referred to by constitutional writers and known as 'The British North America Act.' The fact that it was the Conservative leader who was summoned to form and carry on the Queen's government in Canada, after the Dominion was formed in 1867, should emphasize the fact that he was generally looked on as having taken the most commanding part and as having done the most important work in welding the feeble and scattered Provinces into a strong and compact nation.»

ON THE TREATY OF WASHINGTON

(Peroration of the Speech Delivered in the Canadian House of Commons, May 3d, 1872)

I SHALL now move the first reading of this bill, and I shall simply sum up my remarks by saying that with respect to the treaty I consider that every portion of it is unobjectionable to the country, unless the articles connected with the fisheries may be considered objectionable. With respect to those articles, I ask this House fully and calmly to consider the circumstances, and I believe, if they fully consider the situation, that they will say that it is for the good of Canada that those articles should be ratified. Reject the treaty, and you do not get reciprocity; reject the treaty, and you leave the fishermen of the Maritime Provinces at the mercy of the Americans; reject the treaty, and you will cut the merchants engaged in that trade off from the American market; reject the treaty, and you will have a large annual expenditure in keeping up a marine police force to protect those fisheries amounting to about $84,000 per annum; reject the treaty, and you will have to call upon England to send her fleet and give you both her moral and physical support, although you will not adopt her policy; reject the treaty, and you will find that the bad feeling which formerly and until lately existed in the United States against England will be transferred to

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Canada; that the United States will say, and say justly: "Here, when two great nations like England and the United States have settled all their differences and all their quarrels upon a perpetual basis, these happy results are to be frustrated and endangered by the Canadian people, because they have not got the value of their fish for ten years." It has been said by the honorable gentleman on my left [Mr. Howe], in his speech to the Young Men's Christian Association, that England had sacrificed the interests of Canada. If England has sacrificed the interests of Canada, what sacrifice has she not made in the cause of peace? Has she not, for the sake of peace between those two great nations, rendered herself liable, leaving out all indirect claims, to pay millions out of her own treasury? Has she not made all this sacrifice, which only Englishmen and English statesmen can know, for the sake of peace—and for whose sake has she made it? Has she not made it principally for the sake of Canada? Let Canada be severed from England—let England not be responsible to us, and for us, and what could the United States do to England? Let England withdraw herself into her shell, and what can the United States do? England has got the supremacy of the sea—she is impregnable in every point but one, and that point is Canada; and if England does call upon us to make a financial sacrifice; does find it for the good of the empire that we, England's first colony, should sacrifice something, I say that we would be unworthy of our proud position if we were not prepared to do so. I hope to live to see the day, and if I do not that my son may be spared to see Canada the right arm of England, to see Canada a powerful auxiliary to the empire,—not as now a cause of anxiety and a source of danger. And I think that if we are worthy to hold that position as the right arm of England, we should not object to a sacrifice of this kind when so great an object is attained, and the object is a great and lasting one. It is said that amities between nations cannot be perpetual; but I say that this treaty which has gone through so many difficulties and dangers, if it is carried into effect, removes almost all possibility of war. If ever there was an irritating cause of war, it was from the occurrences arising out of the escape of those vessels, and when we see the United States people and Government forget this irritation, forget those occurrences, and submit such a question to arbitration, to the arbitration of a disinterested tribunal, they have established a principle which can never be forgotten

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in this world. No future question is ever likely to arise that will cause such irritation as the escape of the Alabama did, and if they could be got to agree to leave such a matter to the peaceful arbitrament of a friendly power, what future cause of quarrel can, in the imagination of man, occur that will not bear the same pacific solution that is sought for in this. I believe that this treaty is an epoch in the history of civilization, that it will set an example to the wide world that must be followed; and with the growth of the great Anglo-Saxon family, and with the development of that mighty nation to the south of us, I believe that the principle of arbitration will be advocated and adopted as the sole principle of settlement of differences between the English-speaking peoples, and that it will have a moral influence on the world.

And although it may be opposed to the antecedents of other nations, that great moral principle which has now been established among the Anglo-Saxon family will spread itself all over the civilized world. It is not too much to say that it is a great advance in the history of mankind, and I should be sorry if it were recorded that it was stopped for a moment by a selfish consideration of the interests of Canada. Had the Government of Canada taken the course, which was quite open to them, to recommend Parliament to reject these articles, it might have been a matter of some interest as to what my position would have been. I am here, at all events, advocating the ratification of the treaty, and I may say, notwithstanding the taunts of the honorable gentlemen opposite, that although I was chosen for the position of a commissioner, certainly because I was a Canadian, and presumably because I was a member of the Canadian Government, yet my commission was given to me as a British subject, as it was to Sir Stafford Northcote and other members of the commission. I went to Washington as a plenipotentiary, as her Majesty's servant, and was bound by her Majesty's instructions, and I would have been guilty of dereliction of duty if I had not carried out those instructions. And, sir, when I readily joined under the circumstances in every word of that treaty with the exception of the Fishery Articles, and when I succeeded in having inserted in the treaty a reservation to the Government and the people of Canada of the full right to accept or refuse that portion of it, I had no difficulty as to my course. I did not hesitate to state that if that clause had not been put in, I

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would have felt it necessary to resign my commission. I was perfectly aware in taking the course I did in signing the treaty that I should be subject to reproach. I wrote to my friends in Canada from Washington that well I knew the storm of obloquy that would meet me on my return, and before even I crossed the border I was complimented with the names of Judas Iscariot, Benedict Arnold, etc. The whole vocabulary of Billingsgate was opened against me, but here I am, thank God, to-day, with the conviction that what I did was for the best interests of Canada; and after all the benefits I have received at the hands of my countrymen, and after the confidence that has been accorded me for so many years, I would have been unworthy of that position and that confidence if I were not able to meet reproach for the sake of my country. I have met that reproach, and I have met it in silence. I knew that a premature discussion would only exasperate still more the feelings of those who were arrayed against me and of those who think more of their party than their country. I do not speak particularly of the honorable gentlemen opposite, but I say that the policy of the opposition is regulated by a power behind the throne which dictates what that policy must be. No one ever saw a patriotic policy emanate from that source except on one occasion, and that was when that source was induced by myself to forget party struggles and party feelings for the common good of the country. I have not said a word for twelve months; I have kept silence to this day, thinking it better that the subject should be discussed on its own merits. How eagerly was I watched! If the Government should come out in favor of the treaty, then it was to be taken as being a betrayal of the people of Canada. If the Government should come out against the treaty, then the first minister was to be charged with opposing the interests of the empire. Whichever course we might take, they were lying in wait, ready with some mode of attack. But "silence is golden," Mr. Speaker, and I kept silence. I believe the sober second thought of this country accords with the sober second thought of the Government, and we come down here and ask the people of Canada, through their representatives, to accept this treaty, to accept it with all its imperfections, to accept it for the sake of peace, and for the sake of the great Empire, of which we form a part. I now beg leave to introduce the bill and to state that I have permission of his excellency to do so.

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PREROGATIVE AND PUBLIC RIGHT

(From the Speech Delivered by Sir John Macdonald, in Reply to Allegations Concerning the Pacific Railway Charter, in the House of Commons, Ottawa, November 3d, 1873)

Mr. Speaker:—

I HAD not intended to address you on the two motions now before the House, and the reason why I did not so intend is that I had already given my testimony on oath, and in that testimony I had endeavored, notwithstanding the statement of the honorable gentleman who has just taken his seat, to state the whole case as far as I knew it, according to the best of my conscience, concealing nothing and revealing everything. Therefore I did not think it well, according to the ordinary rule, that I should attempt in any way to supplement my statement on oath by my statements not on oath. However, I have been taunted, not in the House certainly, but I have heard it elsewhere and have seen it in the papers, that I have been withholding my statements, that I have been keeping back, and that I dare not meet the House and the country. I know too well what the House and the country will do, and what the feeling of the country will be, when they know all the facts. They know many of them now, and those they do not know I shall endeavor presently to enter upon. But now I enter upon the subject which is most interesting to this House — the question whether the Government or any members of the Government were in any way implicated in the giving or granting of a charter, or of a privilege of any kind, to men for corrupt motives. I shall allude to one or two subjects which, a short time ago, assumed prominence in the opinion of the country, but which, in the course of the present debate, have almost sunk into insignificance. A short time ago, from the thirteenth of August till now, we heard nothing else but the unconstitutionality of the prorogation; nothing else but that a great wrong had been committed on the privileges of the House. Although I was here for only a few minutes before the House was prorogued, if I remember aright, this chamber rang with charges that the privileges of the House had been invaded. I not only heard the voice of the honorable Member for Chateauguay [Mr. Holton], but I saw his hand brought down, with the ponderous strength of the honorable gentleman, on his desk, when he called "Privilege!" "Privilege!" and all because

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the representative of the Sovereign had exercised a prerogative conferred upon him by law. The honorable gentleman was committing an anachronism. There were days when the prerogative of the Crown and the privileges of the people were in opposition. There were days,—but they were days long gone by, and there is no necessity for any attempt to revive them now,—days when the prerogative of the Crown was brought into opposition to the will of the people and the representatives of the people; and then, as was proper, the will of the people was paramount, and when the Crown opposed it, by prerogative or by excess of prerogative, the head of the Sovereign rolled on the scaffold. But, Mr. Speaker, those days do not exist now, and I am happy to say at this moment, in this age, the prerogative of the Crown is a portion of the liberty of the people. If we wish to preserve our liberties, if we wish to preserve our present Constitution, if we do not wish again to have a Long Parliament or a Rump Parliament, if we do not wish again to have a Parliament overriding every other constitutional authority, we shall preserve the prerogative of the Crown as being a sacred trust, as being a portion of the liberties of the people. Centuries ago, as I have said, the time was when the Sovereign could come down with his strong hands and could seize, or attempt at all events to seize, a Member of Parliament for performing his duty in his place. The day was once when the Sovereign could come down and could banish and send to the tower, and even, as has been known, could send to the block Members of Parliament for defending the privileges of the people. But when the Sovereign is no longer a despot, when the Sovereign is a constitutional monarch, when the Sovereign takes his advice from the people, when the Sovereign in his act of prerogative takes his advice from a committee selected from the representatives of the people and from the other chamber, which other chamber has its power resting upon the basis of the will of the country and the will of the people, then I say there is no danger of the prerogative being used unconstitutionally; but the great danger of the country here, as in England, is that the prerogative may not be strong enough to resist the advancing wave of democracy. And, sir, when in the undoubted exercise of the prerogative of the Crown the representative of the Sovereign came not to this chamber, but to the proper chamber, and announced his will, as the representative of the Sovereign, that Parliament be prorogued, he committed no breach of the privileges of this House or the other House of Parliament and

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made no infringement on the liberties of the people. It was charged that a great breach of the Constitution had taken place. True it is that we heard in a sort of minor key from the Globe, which had some character to lose, that although it was very inexpedient, it was no breach of the Constitution. But every other paper, I believe, every organ of honorable gentlemen opposite, except the Globe, stated that there had been a great breach of the Constitution and of the privileges of the people on the floor of Parliament, and they were countenanced by the voice and clamor of honorable gentlemen opposite. We might pardon them, perhaps, because we have seen cases of a similar kind in England, and therefore I can quite understand it, and I do not much blame them, as showing the momentary feeling of disappointment at the exercise of the royal prerogative, preventing the extension of the excitement into debates in a subsequent session. In 1820, at the time of Queen Caroline's trial, while the bill was pending, when it was resolved to withdraw the bill, and when the motion for the six months' disposal of that measure was carried, there was an outburst when the knock of the usher of the black rod was made at the door,—an outburst of indignation on the part of the Queen's friends because they had no opportunity of expressing their feelings against the course which had been taken. Parliament, however, was prorogued, notwithstanding the storm of indignation that arose at the time.

On a still later occasion, at the time of the Reform Bill, in 1831, we can remember how the House was almost in mutiny, and how that staid gentleman, the Duke of Richmond, almost declared himself in rebellion against his Sovereign. Sir Robert Peel, at the very moment the usher of the black rod knocked at the door, was making a most indignant protest against prorogation for the purpose of dissolution. Therefore when such staid men, and men of such high position, could take that course, we can perhaps pardon honorable gentlemen opposite for having betrayed an unseemly warmth on the thirteenth of August because the prerogative of the Crown was exercised, as the Crown had the right to exercise it. Therefore, it occurs to every honorable gentleman who has considered the subject well, that the question of constitutionality cannot exist for a moment, and that a question of privilege set up against prerogative is altogether a false cry, an untenable cry, a cry unconstitutional and unwarranted by law. The prerogative at present is valuable only as one of the liberties of the people, and it is one of the liberties of the

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people because it is guided, as I said before, by the advice of ministers responsible to the two houses of Parliament, not alone to this chamber. The prerogative is not dangerous. There is no hazard that any one of our liberties, personal or political, will be endangered, so long as the prerogative is administered on the advice of a minister having the support and requiring support from the two chambers of Parliament. The question then comes whether the present ministers of his excellency, the Governor-General, were justified in recommending the prorogation on the thirteenth of August. Sir, if they had not given that advice, they would have the Sovereign to break his word; they would have advised the Sovereign to commit a breach of faith against every absent Member of Parliament. I can say in the presence of this House, in the presence of this country, and in the presence of the world, if the world were listening to our rather unimportant affairs, that if ever a pledge, if ever a bargain, if ever an agreement or arrangement was made, it was that the House should be prorogued on the thirteenth day of August. Some of the gentlemen who have spoken, I won't tax my memory as to which of them, have made the constitutional objection that the House never agreed to the prorogation on the thirteenth of August. Sir, the House had nothing to do with it. It is not a matter of agreement between the Sovereign and the people; it is a matter of prerogative. Did any educated man, any man who knows what the Constitution in Canada or what the Constitution in England is, believe that I, the first minister of the Crown, could get up in my place and tell this House that on the thirteenth of August it would be prorogued, and that on that day there was no real necessity for Members being present, because it was to be merely a formal meeting? That I, a minister of nearly twenty years' standing, who ought to know by practice, and do know by study, somewhat of the British Constitution, should make that announcement unless I had got the authority of my master; had got the sanction of the Crown? As a matter of course, as his excellency has stated in the answer he made to the gentleman who waited upon him, I submitted the proposition to his excellency, and took his pleasure upon it, just as the first minister in England would take the pleasure of her Majesty as to the day on which prorogation was to take place. I got the sanction of his excellency, the Governor-General, to make that statement; and if I had not got that sanction, I do not believe the House would have agreed to the long adjournment.

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SOLDIERS' AND SAILORS' MONUMENT AT CLEVELAND, OHIO.

THE Cuyahoga County Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument, at the dedication of which July 4th, 1894, Wm. McKinley was orator of the day, was designed by Levi T. Schofield and erected by the county at public expense. The view here given is from the northeast.

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WILLIAM McKINLEY

(1843–)

THE address, 'American Patriotism,' delivered by Mr. McKinley at Cleveland, Ohio, in 1894, has been greatly admired. With his address at the dedication of the Grant monument in 1897, it ranks among the most earnest and eloquent expressions of the feeling which inspired the volunteers who fought for the Union from 1861 to 1865.

Mr. McKinley was born at Niles, Ohio, January 29th, 1843. Though only a little over eighteen years old when the Civil War began, he enlisted and rose to the rank of Major. After serving from 1869 to 1871 as Attorney of Stark County, Ohio, he was elected to Congress, where he served in the House of Representatives from 1877 to 1891. From 1889 to 1891, he was chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, which reported the McKinley Tariff Bill. Failing of election to Congress as a result of the general Republican losses of 1890, he was nominated by the Republicans of Ohio for Governor of the State in 1891 and elected. In 1893 he was re-elected by a plurality of about eighty-one thousand, and his election to the Presidency followed in 1896.

AMERICAN PATRIOTISM

(Delivered at the Dedication of the Cuyahoga County Soldiers and Sailors Monument at Cleveland, Ohio, July 4th, 1894. By Permission from the 'History of the Cuyahoga County Soldiers and Sailors Monument.' Copyright by William J. Gleason)

Soldiers and Sailors of Cuyahoga County, My Comrades, and Fellow-Citizens:—

I WISH the whole world might have witnessed the sight we have just seen and have heard the song we have just listened to from the school children of the city of Cleveland. With patriotism in our hearts and with the flag of our country in our hands, there is no danger of anarchy and there is no danger to the American Union.

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The place, the day, and the occasion upon which we assemble, fill us with patriotic emotion. They are happily and appropriately united. The old Monumental Square is filled with hallowed memories. This day registers the birthday of the Declaration of Independence; and this monument that we dedicate to-day attests that every promise of that declaration has been kept and performed. Standing in this presence, I am reminded that this Public Square has witnessed many interesting and memorable events. The first that I recall was on the tenth day of September, 1860, when the monument to Commodore Perry was unveiled on this Square. It was a deeply interesting occasion. An immense crowd thronged this city as it throngs it to-day. Governor Sprague of Rhode Island, with his staff and State officers, and the members of the legislature of that State, and the Providence Light Infantry, participated in the interesting ceremony. Governor Dennison, the first war Governor Ohio ever had, delivered the address of welcome. General J. W. Fitch, remembered by the older citizens of Cleveland, was the Grand Marshal of the day, and General Barnett, whose distinguished services in the war are yet fresh in the memory of the people, and who now participates in these ceremonies, was in command of the Cleveland Light Artillery Regiment. The great historian, George Bancroft, delivered the principal address of the day. It was probably, my fellow-citizens, the greatest celebration that Cuyahoga County had seen up to that time. It was on this ground, too, that the Soldiers and Sailors Aid Society of Northern Ohio, aye of the whole country, was organized, and some of the noble mothers who were at the birth of that organization are seated upon this platform to-day. These noble women gave unselfish devotion to the country, and money from all this section of the State poured into the coffers of that association for the relief of the men at the front who were sustaining the flag. It was in this Square, too, that the remains of the martyred Lincoln, the great emancipator, rested as they journeyed to his Western home. It was on this very spot, almost where we stand to-day, that the whole population of Ohio viewed for the last time him who had been captain of all our armies under the Constitution, and whose death was a sacrifice to the great cause of freedom and the Union.

Here, too, my fellow-citizens, on this very spot, the remains of the immortal Garfield lay in state, attended by the Congress of the United States, by the supreme judiciary of the Nation, by the

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officers of the Army and the Navy of the United States, by the governors and legislators of all the surrounding States. The steady tread of a mourning State and Nation was uninterrupted through the entire night. It was here that the people looked upon his face for the last time forever.

Interesting, my fellow-citizens, and patriotic, as the scenes witnessed in the past have been, I venture to say that none of them have stirred so many memories, or quickened such patriotic feeling as the services we perform to-day in the dedication of this beautiful structure to the memory of the loyal soldiers and sailors who contributed their lives to save the Government from dissolution. Cuyahoga County can well be proud of this great memorial. It is a fitting tribute to the soldiers living and the soldiers dead. Cuyahoga's sons were represented in nearly every branch of the military service. Almost every Ohio regiment received some contribution from Cuyahoga County, whether in the infantry, cavalry, artillery, on land or on sea. Whether among white troops or colored troops Cuyahoga County's sons were to be found, they were always found at the post of greatest danger.

Nothing has so impressed me in the program to-day as the organization of the old soldiers, carrying with them their tattered flags, which they bore a third of a century ago upon the fields of war. More than sixty of the old regimental flags will be carried by the survivors of their respective regiments, and the flag room at the capitol at Columbus could not supply the men of Cuyahoga County all the flags which they are entitled to bear. Is it any wonder that these old soldiers love to carry the flags under which they fought, and for which their brave comrades gave up their lives?

Is it any wonder that the old soldier loves the flag under whose folds he fought and for which his comrades shed so much blood? He loves it for what it is and for what it represents. It embodies the purposes and history of the Government itself. It records the achievements of its defenders upon land and sea. It heralds the heroism and sacrifices of our Revolutionary fathers who planted free government on this continent and dedicated it to liberty forever. It attests the struggles of our army and the valor of our citizens in all the wars of the Republic. It has been sacrificed by the blood of our best and our bravest. It records the achievements of Washington and the martyrdom of Lincoln. It has been bathed in the tears of a sorrowing people. It has

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been glorified in the hearts of a freedom-loving people, not only at home but in every part of the world. Our flag expresses more than any other flag; it means more than any other national emblem. It expresses the will of a free people, and proclaims that they are supreme and that they acknowledge no earthly sovereign but themselves. It never was assaulted that thousands did not rise up to smite the assailant. Glorious old banner!

When the Stars and Stripes were hauled down on Sumter, flags without number were raised above every fireside in the land; and all the glorious achievements which that flag represented, with all its hallowed memories, glowed with burning fervor in the heart of every lover of liberty and the Union. The mad assault which was made upon the flag at that time aroused its defenders and kindled a patriotism which could not be quenched until it had extinguished the unholy cause which assaulted our holy banner.

What more beautiful conception than that which prompted Abra Kohn, of Chicago, in February 1861, to send to Mr. Lincoln, on the eve of his starting to Washington to take the office of President to which he had been elected, a flag of our country, bearing upon its silken folds these words from the fifth and ninth verses of the first chapter of Joshua: "Have I not commanded thee? Be strong and of good courage; be not afraid, neither be thou dismayed: for the Lord our God is with thee whithersoever thou goest. There shall no man be able to stand before thee all the days of thy life. As I was with Moses, so shall I be with thee. I will not fail thee nor forsake thee."

Could anything have given Mr. Lincoln more cheer or been better calculated to sustain his courage or strengthen his faith in the mighty work before him? Thus commanded, thus assured, Mr. Lincoln journeyed to the capital, where he took the oath of office and registered in heaven an oath to save the Union; and "the Lord our God" was with him and did not fail nor forsake him until every obligation of oath and duty was sacredly kept and honored. Not any man was able to stand before him. Liberty was enthroned, the Union was saved, and the flag which he carried floated in triumph and glory upon every flagstaff of the Republic.

What does this monument mean? It means the immortal principle of patriotism. It means love of country. It means sacrifices for the country we love. It means, not only love of

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country, but love of liberty! This alone could have inspired over two million eight hundred thousand Union soldiers to leave home and family and to offer to die if need be for our imperiled institutions. Love of country alone could have inspired three hundred thousand men to die for the Union. Nothing less sacred than this love of country could have sustained one hundred and seventy-five thousand brave men, who suffered and starved and died in Rebel prisons. Nor could anything else have given comfort to the five hundred thousand maimed and diseased who escaped immediate death in siege and battle to end in torment the remainder of their patriot lives. It is a noble patriotism and it impels you, my fellow-countrymen, to erect this magnificent monument to their honor and memory. And similar love of country will inspire your remotest descendants to do homage to their valor and bravery forever.

This is what the monument means. The lesson it conveys to the present and all future generations. It means that the cause in which they died was a righteous one, and it means that the cause which triumphed through their valor shall be perpetuated for all time.

Charles Sumner said that President Lincoln was put to death by the enemies of the Declaration of Independence; but, said Sumner, though dead, he would always continue to guard that title deed of the human race. So that it does seem to me that every time we erect a new monument to the memory of the Union soldiers and sailors we are cementing the very foundations of the Government itself. We are doing that which will strengthen our devotion to free institutions and insure their permanency for the remotest posterity. We are not only rendering immortal the fame of the men who participated in the war by these magnificent structures, but we are doing better than that. We are making immortal the principles for which they contended and the Union for which they died.

Their erection may be a matter of comparatively little importance or concern to the Union soldiers who are still living, but no one can accurately foretell the value and importance of their influence upon the young men and the young women from whom the Republic must draw her future defenders. Every time we erect a monument, every time we do honor to the soldiers of the Republic, we reaffirm our devotion to the country, to the glorious flag, to the immortal principles of liberty, equality,

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and justice, which have made the United States unrivaled among the nations of the world. The union of these States must be perpetual. That is what our brave boys died for. That is what this monument must mean; and such monuments as this are evidences that the people intend to take care that the great decrees of war shall be unquestioned and supreme.

The unity of the Republic is secure so long as we continue to honor the memory of the men who died by the tens of thousands to preserve it. The dissolution of the Union is impossible so long as we continue to inculcate lessons of fraternity, unity, and patriotism, and erect monuments to perpetuate these sentiments.

Such monuments as these have another meaning, which is one dear to the hearts of many who stand by me. It is, as Mr. Lincoln said at Gettysburg, that the dead shall not have died in vain; that the nation's later birth of freedom and the people's gain of their own sovereignty shall not perish from the earth. That is what this monument means. That is the lesson of true patriotism, that what was won in war shall be worn in peace.

But we must not forget, my fellow-countrymen, that the Union which these brave men preserved, and the liberties which they secured, places upon us, the living, the gravest responsibility. We are the freest government on the face of the earth. Our strength rests in our patriotism. Anarchy flees before patriotism. Peace and order and security and liberty are safe so long as love of country burns in the hearts of the people. It should not be forgotten, however, that liberty does not mean lawlessness. Liberty to make our own laws does not give us license to break them. Liberty to make our own laws commands a duty to observe them ourselves and enforce obedience among all others within their jurisdiction. Liberty, my fellow-citizens, is responsibility, and responsibility is duty, and that duty is to preserve the exceptional liberty we enjoy within the law and for the law and by the law.

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AT THE DEDICATION OF THE GRANT MONUMENT

(Delivered in New York City, April 27th, 1897 — From the Authorized Text, by Permission)

Fellow-Citizens: —

A GREAT life, dedicated to the welfare of the Nation, here finds its earthly coronation. Even if this day lacked the impressiveness of ceremony and was devoid of pageantry, it would still be memorable, because it is the anniversary of the birth of one of the most famous and best-beloved of American soldiers.

Architecture has paid high tribute to the leaders of mankind, but never was a memorial more worthily bestowed or more gratefully accepted by a free people than the beautiful structure before which we are gathered.

In marking the successful completion of this work, we have as witnesses and participants representatives of all branches of our Government, the resident officials of foreign nations, the governors of States, and the sovereign people from every section of our common country, who join in this august tribute to the soldier, patriot, and citizen.

Almost twelve years have passed since the heroic vigil ended and the brave spirit of Ulysses S. Grant fearlessly took its flight. Lincoln and Stanton had preceded him, but of the mighty captains of the war Grant was the first to be called. Sherman and Sheridan survived him, but have since joined him on the other shore.

The great heroes of the civil strife on land and sea are for the most part now no more. Thomas and Hancock, Logan and McPherson, Farragut, Dupont, and Porter, and a host of others, have passed forever from human sight. Those remaining grow dearer to us, and from them and the memory of those who have departed generations yet unborn will draw their inspiration and gather strength for patriotic purpose.

A great life never dies. Great deeds are imperishable; great names immortal. General Grant's services and character will continue undiminished in influence and advance in the estimation of mankind so long as liberty remains the cornerstone of free government and integrity of life the guaranty of good citizenship.

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Faithful and fearless as a volunteer soldier, intrepid and invincible as Commander in Chief of the Armies of the Union, calm and confident as President of a reunited and strengthened nation which his genius had been instrumental in achieving, he has our homage and that of the world; but brilliant as was his public character, we love him all the more for his home life and homely virtues. His individuality, his bearing and speech, his simple ways, had a flavor of rare and unique distinction, and his Americanism was so true and uncompromising that his name will stand for all time as the embodiment of liberty, loyalty, and national unity.

Victorious in the work which under Divine Providence he was called upon to do; clothed with almost limitless power; he was yet one of the people — patient, patriotic, and just. Success did not disturb the even balance of his mind, while fame was powerless to swerve him from the path of duty. Great as he was in war, he loved peace, and told the world that honorable arbitration of differences was the best hope of civilization.

With Washington and Lincoln, Grant has an exalted place in history and the affections of the people. To-day his memory is held in equal esteem by those whom he led to victory and by those who accepted his generous terms of peace. The veteran leaders of the Blue and the Gray here meet, not only to honor the name of the departed Grant, but to testify to the living reality of a fraternal national spirit which has triumphed over the differences of the past and transcends the limitations of sectional lines. Its completion, which we pray God to speed, will be the nation's greatest glory.

It is right, then, that General Grant should have a memorial commensurate with his greatness and that his last resting-place should be the city of his choice, to which he was so attached in life and of whose ties he was not forgetful even in death. Fitting, too, is it that the great soldier should sleep beside the noble river on whose banks he first learned the art of war and of which he became master and leader without a rival.

But let us not forget the glorious distinction with which the metropolis among the fair sisterhood of American cities has honored his life and memory. With all that riches and sculpture can do to render the edifice worthy of the man, upon a site unsurpassed for magnificence, has this monument been reared by New York as a perpetual record of his illustrious deeds, in the

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certainty that as time passes around it will assemble with gratitude and reverence and veneration men of all climes, races, and nationalities.

New York holds in its keeping the precious dust of the silent soldier; but his achievements — what he and his brave comrades wrought for mankind — are in the keeping of seventy millions of American citizens, who will guard the sacred heritage forever and forevermore.

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SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH

(1765–1832)

ONE of the greatest events in modern times was the adoption by England of the policy of "autonomy," advocated by Sir James Mackintosh in his speech of May 2d, 1828. Nothing else could have saved the British Empire from collapse. The Tories, whose policies resulted in the loss of the American colonies, fought "autonomy" at every point. The Napoleonic wars and the American War of 1812 enabled them to sustain themselves by appeal to British patriotism, but it became apparent, nevertheless, that the centralized military empire, which constituted their ideal, was impossible with England as the central power. When Mackintosh boldly declared in Parliament that in every country the majority of the inhabitants and property owners "ought to possess the power of the government," he was merely vindicating principles he had held during the whole of his public life—often in what seemed to be a hopeless minority. Now, however, they were to be vindicated. As a result of them, Canada and Australia became autonomous, and the British Empire survived.

Mackintosh was born near Inverness, Scotland, in 1765. He was educated at Aberdeen and Edinburgh, graduating in medicine and removing to London for the practice of that profession, which in 1795 he abandoned for the law. His defense of Peltier in 1803 made him a great reputation as a lawyer. He had already become celebrated as a political writer by reason of his reply to Burke's 'Reflections on the French Revolution.' This reply, published in April 1791, was to some extent discredited by subsequent events of the Reign of Terror and Mackintosh evidently had this fact in mind in the striking review of the Revolution he made in the case of Peltier. He remained a consistent Whig until his death, however, and though never popular as a political orator, he was one of the decisive factors in making the English history of the first quarter of the nineteenth century. He was Recorder and Judge of the Court of Vice-Admiralty at Bombay from 1804 to 1811. After his return to England, he entered Parliament and devoted the remainder of his life to unremitting work in literature, philosophy, and public affairs. He died in London, May 30th, 1832. Among his best-remembered works are his

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'Vindiciæ Gallicæ,' in reply to Burke; his 'Dissertation on the Progress of Ethical Philosophy'; and his 'History of the Revolution in England in 1688.' As an orator, he delivered himself with such deliberation and finish that "he spoke essays"—if we are to trust Macaulay, himself the greatest of all speakers of oratorical essays.

CANADA AND THE AUTONOMY OF BRITISH COLONIES

(Delivered in the House of Commons on the Second of May, 1828)

Mr. Speaker:—

I THINK I may interpret fairly the general feeling of the House, when I express my congratulations upon the great extent of talent and information which the honorable Member for St. Michael's has just displayed, and that I may venture to assert he has given us full assurance, in his future progress, of proving a useful and valuable Member of the Parliament of this country. I cannot, also, avoid observing that the laudable curiosity which carried him to visit that country whose situation is now the subject of discussion, and still more the curiosity which led him to visit that imperial Republic which occupies the other best portion of the American continent, gave evidence of a mind actuated by enlarged and liberal views.

After having presented a petition signed by eighty-seven thousand of the inhabitants of Lower Canada,—comprehending in that number nine-tenths of the heads of families in the province, and more than two-thirds of its landed proprietors,—and after having shown that the petitioners had the greatest causes of complaint against the administration of the government in that colony, it would be an act of inconsistency on my part to attempt to throw any obstacle in the way of that inquiry which the right honorable gentleman proposes. It might seem, indeed, a more natural course on my part if I had seconded such a proposition. Perhaps I might have been contented to give a silent acquiescence in the appointment of a committee and to receive any observations I may have to offer until some specific measure is proposed, or until the House is in possession of the information which may be procured through the labors of the committee,—perhaps, I say, I might have been disposed to adopt this course if I had not been intrusted with the presentation of that petition. But I feel bound by the sense of the trust reposed in me

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to allow no opportunity to pass over of calling the attention of the House to the grievances of the petitioners and to their claims for redress and for the maintenance of their legitimate rights. This duty I hold myself bound to execute, according to the best of my ability, without sacrificing my judgment, or rendering it subordinate to any sense of duty, but feeling only that the confidence of the petitioners binds me to act on their behalf, and as their advocate, in precisely the same manner, and to the same extent, as if I had been invested with another character, and authorized to state their complaints in a different situation.

To begin, then, with the speech of the right honorable gentleman, I may take leave to observe that in all that was contained in the latter part of it he has my fullest and most cordial assent. In 1822, when the Canadians were last before the House, I stated the principles which ought to be maintained with respect to what the right honorable gentleman has very properly and very eloquently called the «Great British Confederacy.» I hold now, as I did then, that all the different portions of that Confederacy are integral parts of the British Empire, and as such are entitled to the fullest protection. I hold that they are all bound together as one great class by an alliance prior in importance to every other,—more binding upon us than any treaty ever entered into with any State,—the fulfillment of which we can never desert without the sacrifice of a great moral duty. I hold that it can be a matter of no moment, in this bond of alliance, whether the parties be divided by oceans or be neighbors; I hold that the moral bond of duty and protection is the same. My maxims of colonial policy are few and simple: a full and efficient protection from all foreign influence; full permission to conduct the whole of their own internal affairs; compelling them to pay all the reasonable expenses of their own government and giving them at the same time a perfect control over the expenditures of the money; and imposing no restrictions of any kind upon the industry or traffic of the people. These are the only means by which the hitherto almost incurable evil of distant government can be either mitigated or removed. And it may be a matter of doubt whether in such circumstances the colonists would not be under a more gentle control and in a happier state than if they were to be admitted to a full participation in the rule and brought under the immediate and full

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protection of the parent government. I agree most fully with the honorable gentleman who spoke last, when he expressed a wish that we should leave the regulation of the internal affairs of the colonies to the colonists, except in cases of the most urgent and manifest necessity. The most urgent and manifest necessity, I say; and few and rare ought to be the exceptions to the rule, even upon the strength of those necessities.

Under these circumstances of right I contend it is prudent to regard all our colonies, and peculiarly the population of these two great provinces,—provinces placed in one of those rare and happy states of society in which the progress of population must be regarded as a blessing to mankind,—exempt from the curse of fostering slavery,—exempt from the evils produced by the contentions of jarring systems of religion,—enjoying the blessings of universal toleration,—and presenting a state of society the most unlike that can be possibly imagined to the fastidious distinctions of Europe. Exempt at once from the slavery of the West and the castes of the East,—exempt, too, from the embarrassments of that other great continent which we have chosen as a penal settlement and in which the prejudices of society have been fostered, I regret to find, in a most unreasonable degree,—exempt from all the artificial distinctions of the Old World, and many of the evils of the New, we see a great population rapidly growing up to be a great nation. None of the claims of such a population ought to be cast aside, and none of their complaints can receive any but the most serious consideration.

In the first part of his speech the right honorable gentleman declared that the excesses and complaints of the colonists arose from the defect of their Constitution, and next from certain contentions into which they had fallen with Lord Dalhousie. In anything I may say on this occasion I beg to be understood as not casting any imputation upon the character of that noble lord; I speak merely of the acts of his government, and I wish solely to be understood as saying that my opinion of the acts of that government are different from those which I believe to have been conscientiously his.

I, however, must say that I thought the right honorable gentleman in one part of his address indulged himself in some pleasantries which seemed ill suited to the subject to which he claimed our attention,—I allude to the three essential grievances which he seemed to imagine led to many, if not all, of the

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discontents and complaints of the colonists. There was the perplexed system of real property law, creating such a vexatious delay and such enormous costs to the suitor as to amount very nearly to a denial of justice; this, he said, arose from adhering to the custom of Paris. The next cause of discontent is the inadequate representation of the people in Parliament; that he recommended to the immediate attention of the committee for the purpose of revision. Lastly, the members of the legislature were so absurdly ignorant of the first principles of political economy as to have attempted to exclude all the industry and capital of other countries from flowing in to enrich and fertilize their shores. These were the three grounds upon which he formally impeached the people of Canada before the knights, citizens, and burgesses of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

Did the right honorable gentleman never hear of any other system of law, in any other country than Canada, in which a jumble of obsolete usages were mixed up and confounded with modern subtleties, until the minds of the most acute men of the age and nation — men who had in a service of forty years passed through every stage of its gradations — were driven to declare that they felt totally unable to find their way through its labyrinths, and were compelled by their doubts of what was law and what was not, to add in a most ruinous degree to the expenses of the suitor? This system has been called the "Common Law," — "the wisdom of our ancestors," — and various other venerable names. Did he never hear of a system of representation in any other country totally irreconcilable either with the state of the population or with any rule or principle under heaven? Have I not heard over and over again from the lips of the right honorable gentleman, and from one whom, alas! I shall hear no more, that this inadequate system of representation possessed extraordinary advantages over those more systematic contrivances which resulted from the studies of the "constitution makers" of other countries? And yet it is for this very irregularity in their mode of representation that the Canadians are now to be brought before the judgment of the right honorable gentleman's committee. I felt still greater wonder, however, when I heard him mention his third ground of objection to the proceedings of the colonists, and his third cause of their discontent — their ignorance of political economy. Too surely the laws for the exclusion of the capital and industry of other countries did display the grossest

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ignorance of that science! I should not much wonder if I heard of the Canadians devising plans to prevent the entrance of a single grain of foreign corn into the provinces. I should not wonder to hear the members of their legislature and their great landowners contending that it was absolutely necessary that the people should be able to raise all their own food; and consequently (although, perhaps, they do not see the consequences) to make every other nation completely independent of their products and their industry. It is perhaps barely possible that some such nonsense as this might be uttered in the legislative assembly of the Canadians.

Then again, sir, the right honorable gentleman has alluded to the seigneurs and their vassals. Some of these "most potent, grave, and reverend" seigneurs may happen to be jealous of their manorial rights; for seigneuralty means manor, and a seigneur is only, therefore, a lord of the manor. How harmless this lofty word seems to be when translated! Some of these seigneurs might happen, I say, to be jealous of their manorial privileges, and anxious for the preservation of their game. I am a very bad sportsman myself, and not well acquainted with the various objects of anxiety to such persons; but there may be, too, in these colonies also, persons who may take upon themselves to institute a rigorous inquiry into the state of their game, and into the best methods of preserving red game and black game, and pheasants and partridges; and who might be disposed to make it a question whether any evils arise from the preservation of these things for their sport, or whether the safety, the liberty, and the life of their fellow-subjects ought not to be sacrificed for their personal gratification.

With regard to the observance of the custom of Paris, I beg the House to consider that no change was effected from 1760 to 1789, and (although I admit with the right honorable gentleman that it may be as bad as a system of conveyance, and may be expensive on account of the difficulties produced by mortgages) that the Canadians cannot be very ill off under a code of laws which grew up under the auspices of the Parliament of Paris—a body comprising the greatest learning and talent ever brought to the study of the law, and boasting the names of L'Hôpital and Montesquieu.

Neither can it be said that the assembly of Canada was so entirely indifferent to its system of representation; for it ought

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to be recollected that they passed a bill to amend it, which was thrown out by the council,—that is, in fact, by the government. At all events, this shows that there was no want of a disposition to amend the state of their representation, although government might differ from them as to the best method of accomplishing it. A bill for establishing the independence of the judges was another remedial measure thrown out by the Upper House.

As at present informed, however, without going further into these questions, I see enough stated in the petition upon the table of the House to justify the appointment of a committee of inquiry.

In every country, sir, the wishes of the greater number of the inhabitants, and of those in possession of the great mass of the property, ought to have great influence in the government—they ought to possess the power of the government. If this be true generally, the rule ought, *a multo fortiori*, to be followed in the government of distant colonies, from which the information that is to guide the government at home is sent by a few, and is never correct or complete. A government on the spot, though with the means of obtaining correct information, is exposed to the delusions of prejudice; for a government at a distance, the only safe course to pursue is to follow public opinion. In making the practical application of this principle, if I find the government of any country engaged in squabbles with the great mass of the people,—if I find it engaged in vexatious controversies and ill-timed disputes,—especially if that government be the government of a colony,—I say that there is a reasonable presumption against that government. I do not charge it with injustice, but I charge it with imprudence and indiscretion; and I say that it is unfit to hold the authority intrusted to it. The ten years of hostility and squabbles which have existed in this instance are a sufficient charge against this government.

I was surprised to hear the right honorable gentleman put the people and the government on the same footing in this respect. What is government good for, if not to temper passion with wisdom? The people are said to be deficient in certain qualities, and a government is said to possess them. If the people are not deficient in them, it is a fallacy to talk of the danger of intrusting them with political power; if they are deficient, where is the common sense of expecting of them that moderation which government is instituted for the very purpose of supplying?

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Taking this to be true as a general principle, it cannot be false in its application to the question before the House. As I understand it, the house of assembly has a right to appropriate the supplies which itself has granted. The House of Commons knows well how to appreciate that right and should not quarrel with the house of assembly for indulging in a similar feeling. The right honorable gentleman himself admits the existence of this right. The governor-general has, however, infringed it, by appropriating a sum of one hundred and forty thousand pounds without the authority of the assembly. That house does not claim to appropriate the revenue raised under the Act of 1774; they only claim a right to examine the items of the appropriations in order to ascertain if the government need any fresh supplies. The petitioners state it as one of their not unimaginary grievances that they have lost one hundred thousand pounds by the neglect of the receiver-general. This is not one of those grievances which are said to arise from the assembly's claim of political rights. Another dispute arises from the governor-general claiming, in imitation of the power of the King, a right to confirm the speaker of the house of assembly. This right,—a very ancient one, and venerable from its antiquity and from being an established fact of an excellent constitution at home,—is a most absurd adjunct to a colonial government. But I will not investigate the question, nor enter into any legal argument with regard to it; for no discussion can in any case, as I feel, be put in competition with the feelings of a whole people. It is a fatal error in the rulers of a country to despise the people; its safety, honor, and strength are best preserved by consulting their wishes and feelings. The government at Quebec, despising such considerations, has been long engaged in a scuffle with the people, and has thought hard words and hard blows not inconsistent with its dignity.

I observe, sir, that twenty-one bills were passed by the house of assembly in 1827,—most of them reformatory,—of which not one was approved of by the legislative council. Is the governor responsible for this? I answer, he is. The council is nothing else but his tool; it is not, as at present constituted, a fair and just constitutional check between the popular assembly and the governor. Of the twenty-seven councilors, seventeen hold places under the government at pleasure, dividing among themselves yearly fifteen thousand pounds, which is not a small sum in a

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country in which a thousand a year is a large income for a country gentleman. I omit the Bishop, who is perhaps rather too much inclined to authority, but is of a pacific character. The minority, worn out in their fruitless resistance, have withdrawn from their attendance on the council. Two of them being the most considerable landholders in the province were amongst the subscribers to the petition. I appeal to the House if the Canadians are not justified in considering the very existence of this council as a constitutional grievance?

It has been said that there has been no aristocracy formed in the province. It is not possible that this part of Mr. Pitt's plan could ever have been carried into execution; an aristocracy — the creature of time and opinion — cannot be created. But men of great merit and superior qualifications get an influence over the people; and they form a species of aristocracy, differing, indeed, from one of birth and descent, but supplying the materials out of which a constitutional senate may be constituted. Such an aristocracy there is in Canada, but it is excluded from the council.

There are then, sir, two specific classes of grievances complained of by the Lower-Canadians; the first is the continued hostility to all the projected measures of the assembly by the governor; the second is the use he makes of the council to oppose them. These are the grounds on which inquiry and change are demanded. I, however, do not look upon these circumstances alone as peremptorily requiring a change in the constitution of the province. These are wrongs which the government might have remedied. It might have selected a better council; and it might have sent out instructions to the governor to consult the feelings of the people. It might have pointed out to him the example of a government which gave way to the wishes of a people,—of a majority of the people, expressed by a majority of their representatives,—on a question, too, of religious liberty, instead of weakening themselves in the hearts of the people. On reviewing the whole question, the only practical remedy which I see is to introduce more prudence and discretion into the counsels of the administration of the Province.

The right honorable gentleman has made allusion to the English settlers in Lower Canada, as if they were oppressed by the natives. But I ask what law has been passed by the assembly that is unjust to them? Is it a remedy for this that it is pro-

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posed to change the scheme of representation? The English inhabitants of Lower Canada, with some few exceptions, collected in towns as merchants or the agents of merchants,—very respectable persons, I have no doubt,—amount to about eighty thousand. Would it not be the height of injustice to give them the same influence which the four hundred thousand Canadians, from their numbers and property, ought to possess? Sir, when I hear of an inquiry on account of measures necessary to protect English settlers, I greatly lament that any such language should have been used. Are we to have an English colony in Canada separated from the rest of the inhabitants,—a favored body, with peculiar privileges? Shall they have a sympathy with English sympathies and English interests? And shall we deal out to Canada six hundred years of such miseries as we have to Ireland? Let us not in God's name introduce such curses into another region. Let our policy be to give all the King's subjects in Canada equal law and equal justice. I cannot listen to unwise distinctions, generating alarm, and leading to nothing but evil, without adverting to them; and I shall be glad if my observations supply the gentlemen opposite with the opportunity of disavowing—knowing, as I do, that the disavowal will be sincere—that any such distinction is to be kept up.

As to Upper Canada, the statement of the right honorable gentleman appears to be scanty in information; it does not point out—as is usual in proposing such a committee—what is to be the termination of the change proposed. He has thrown out two or three plans, but he has also himself supplied objections to them. The assembly there appears to be as independent as the one in the Lower Province. I have heard of some of their measures—an Alien bill, a Catholic bill, and a bill for regulating the Press; and these discussions were managed with as much spirit as those of an assembly, which I will not say is better, but which has the good fortune to be their superior. The people have been much disappointed by the immense grants of land which have been reserved for the Church of England,—which faith is not that of the majority of the people. Such endowments are to be held sacred where they have been long made; but I do not see the propriety of creating them anew,—and for a church, too, to which the majority of the people do not belong. Then, with regard to the regulations which have been made for the new college, I see with astonishment that, in a country where

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the majority of the people do not belong to the Church of England, the professors are all to subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles; so that, if Dr. Adam Smith were alive, he could not fill the chair of Political Economy, and Doctor Black would be excluded from that of Chemistry. Another thing should be considered: a large portion of the population consists of American settlers, who can least of all men bear the intrusion of law into the domains of conscience and religion. It is a bad augury for the welfare of the Province that opinions prevalent at the distance of thousands of miles are to be the foundations of the college charter; it is still worse, if they be only the opinions of a faction, that we cannot interfere to correct the injustice.

To the proposed plan for the union of the two provinces there are so many and such powerful objections, that I scarcely think that such a measure can soon be successfully concluded. The bill proposed in 1822, whereby the bitterness of the Lower Canada assembly was to be mitigated by an infusion of mildness from the Upper Province,—failing as it did,—has excited general alarm and mistrust among all your colonies. Except that measure, which ought to be looked upon as a warning rather than a precedent, I think the grounds upon which we have now been called on to interfere the scantiest that ever were exhibited.

I do not know, sir, what other plans are to be produced, but I think the wisest measure would be to send out a temperate governor, with instructions to be candid, and to supply him with such a council as will put an end to the present disputes and infuse a better spirit into the administration than it has known for the last ten years. I wish, however, to state that I have not come to a final judgment, but have merely described what the bearing of my mind is on those general maxims of colonial policy, any deviation from which is as inconsistent with national policy as it is with national justice.

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PELTIER AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

(From the Speech of February 21st, 1803, in the Court of King's Bench, Defending M. Peltier against the Charge of Libeling Napoleon Bonaparte)

[Under the English Libel Laws of 1803, it was an offense to attack the established authorities of any power at peace with England. As France and England were then at peace, Peltier, a French exile in England, was arrested at the instance of Napoleon, then First Consul, for an attack published in London.]

Gentlemen:—

THE French Revolution—I must pause after I have uttered words which present such an overwhelming idea. But I have not now to engage in an enterprise so far beyond my force as that of examining and judging that tremendous Revolution; I have only to consider the character of the factions which it must have left behind it.

The French Revolution began with great and fatal errors. These errors produced atrocious crimes. A mild and feeble monarchy was succeeded by bloody anarchy, which very shortly gave birth to military despotism. France in a few years described the whole circle of human society.

All this was in the order of nature. When every principle of authority and civil discipline; when every principle which enables some men to command and disposes others to obey was extirpated from the mind by atrocious theories and still more atrocious examples; when every old institution was trampled down with contumely, and every new institution covered in its cradle with blood; when the principle of property itself, the sheet-anchor of society, was annihilated; when in the persons of the new possessors, whom the poverty of language obliges us to call proprietors, it was contaminated in its source by robbery and murder, and it became separated from that education and those manners, from that general presumption of superior knowledge and more scrupulous probity which form its only liberal titles to respect; when the people were taught to despise everything old and compelled to detest everything new; there remained only one principle strong enough to hold society together,—a principle utterly incompatible, indeed, with liberty, and unfriendly to civilization itself,—a tyrannical and barbarous principle,—but, in that miserable condition of human affairs, a refuge from still more intolerable evils. I mean the principle of military

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power, which gains strength from that confusion and bloodshed in which all the other elements of society are dissolved, and which, in these terrible extremities, is the cement that preserves it from total destruction.

Under such circumstances, Bonaparte usurped the supreme power in France. I say usurped, because an illegal assumption of power is a usurpation. But usurpation, in its strongest moral sense, is scarcely applicable to a period of lawless and savage anarchy. The guilt of military usurpation, in truth, belongs to the author of those confusions which sooner or later give birth to such a usurpation. . . .

As for the wretched populace who were made the blind and senseless instrument of so many crimes, whose frenzy can now be reviewed by a good mind with scarcely any moral sentiment but that of compassion, that miserable multitude of beings, scarcely human, have already fallen into a brutish forgetfulness of the very atrocities which they themselves perpetrated. They have already forgotten all the acts of their drunken fury. If you ask one of them who destroyed that magnificent monument of religion and art, or who perpetrated that massacre, they stupidly answer, The Jacobins! though he who gives the answer was probably one of these Jacobins himself; so that a traveler ignorant of French history might suppose the Jacobins to be the name of some Tartar horde, who, after laying waste France for ten years, were at last expelled by the native inhabitants. They have passed from senseless rage to stupid quiet. Their delirium is followed by lethargy. . . .

Some of them, indeed, the basest of the race, the sophists, the rhetors, the poet laureates of murder, who were cruel only from cowardice and calculating selfishness, are perfectly willing to transfer their venal pens to any government that does not disdain their infamous support. These men, republicans from servility, who published rhetorical panegyrics on massacre, and who reduced plunder to a system of ethics, are as ready to preach slavery as anarchy. But the more daring, I had almost said the more respectable, ruffians cannot so easily bend their heads under the yoke. These fierce spirits have not lost "the unconquerable will, the study of revenge, immortal hate." They leave the luxuries of servitude to the mean and dastardly hypocrites, to the Belials and Mammons of the infernal faction. They pursue their old end of tyranny under their old pretext of liberty. The recollection of their unbounded power renders every inferior condition

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irksome and vapid, and their former atrocities form, if I may so speak, a sort of moral destiny which irresistibly impels them to the perpetration of new crimes. They have no place left for penitence on earth. They labor under the most awful proscription of opinion that ever was pronounced against human beings. They have cut down every bridge by which they could retreat into the society of men. Awakened from their dreams of democracy, the noise subsided that deafened their ears to the voice of humanity; the film fallen from their eyes which hid from them the blackness of their own deeds; haunted by the memory of their inexpiable guilt; condemned daily to look on the faces of those whom their hands made widows and orphans, they are goaded and scourged by these real furies, and hurried into the tumult of new crimes, which will drown the cries of remorse, or, if they be too depraved for remorse, will silence the curses of mankind. Tyrannical power is their only refuge from the just vengeance of their fellow-creatures. Murder is their only means of usurping power. They have no taste, no occupation, no pursuit but power and blood. If their hands are tied, they must at least have the luxury of murderous projects. They have drunk too deeply of human blood ever to relinquish their cannibal appetite. . . .

I have used the word republican because it is the name by which this atrocious faction describes itself. The assumption of that name is one of their crimes. They are no more republicans than royalists. They are the common enemies of all human society. God forbid that by the use of that word I should be supposed to reflect on the members of those respectable republican communities which did exist in Europe before the French Revolution. That Revolution has spared many monarchies, but it has spared no republic within the sphere of its destructive energy. One republic only now exists in the world — a republic of English blood, which was originally composed of republican societies, under the protection of a monarchy, which had therefore no great and perilous change in their internal constitution to effect, and of which, — I speak it with pleasure and pride, — the inhabitants, even in the convulsions of a most deplorable separation, displayed the humanity as well as valor which, I trust I may say, they inherited from their forefathers.

Nor do I mean by the use of the word "republican" to confound this execrable faction with all those who, in the liberty of private speculation, may prefer a republican form of government.

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I own that after much reflection I am not able to conceive an error more gross than that of those who believe in the possibility of erecting a republic in any of the old monarchical countries of Europe, who believe that in such countries an elective supreme magistracy can produce anything but a succession of stern tyrannies and bloody civil wars. It is a supposition which is belied by all experience, and which betrays the greatest ignorance of the first principles of the constitution of society. It is an error which has a false appearance of superiority over vulgar prejudice; it is, therefore, too apt to be attended with the most criminal rashness and presumption, and too easy to be inflamed into the most immoral and antisocial fanaticism. But as long as it remains a mere quiescent error, it is not the proper subject of moral disapprobation. . . .

I must entreat you to bear with me, to allow me to suppose a case which might have occurred, in which you will see the horrible consequences of enforcing rigorously principles of law, which I cannot counteract, against political writers. We might have been at peace with France during the whole of that terrible period which elapsed between August 1792 and 1794, which has been usually called the reign of Robespierre — the only series of crimes, perhaps, in history, which, in spite of the common disposition to exaggerate extraordinary facts, has been beyond measure underrated in public opinion! I say this, gentlemen, after an investigation, which I think entitles me to affirm it with confidence. Men's minds were oppressed by atrocity and the multitude of crimes; their humanity and their indolence took refuge in skepticism from such an overwhelming mass of guilt; and the consequence was, that all these unparalleled enormities, though proved, not only with the fullest historical, but with the strictest judicial evidence, were at the time only half believed and are now scarcely half remembered. When these atrocities were daily perpetrating, of which the greatest part are as little known to the public in general as the campaigns of Genghis Khan, but are still protected from the scrutiny of men by the immensity of those voluminous records of guilt in which they are related, and under the mass of which they will be buried, till some historian be found with patience and courage enough to drag them forth into light, for the shame indeed, but for the instruction of mankind, — when these crimes were perpetrating, which had the peculiar malignity, from the pretexts with which they were covered, of making the noblest objects of human pursuit seem odious and

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detestable; which have almost made the names of liberty, reformation, and humanity synonymous with anarchy, robbery, and murder; which thus threatened not only to extinguish every principle of improvement, to arrest the progress of civilized society, and to disinherit future generations of that rich succession which they were entitled to expect from the knowledge and wisdom of the present, but to destroy the civilization of Europe, which never gave such a proof of its vigor and robustness as in being able to resist their destructive power,—when all these horrors were acting in the greatest empire of the continent, I will ask my learned friend, if we had then been at peace with France, how English writers were to relate them so as to escape the charge of libeling a friendly government. . . .

My learned friend might then have been compelled to have filed a criminal information against Mr. Peltier for "wickedly and maliciously intending to vilify and degrade Maximilien Robespierre, president of the committee of public safety of the French Republic!" He might have been reduced to the sad necessity of appearing before you to belie his own better feelings; to prosecute Mr. Peltier for publishing those sentiments which my friend himself had a thousand times felt and a thousand times expressed. He might have been obliged even to call for punishment upon Mr. Peltier for language which he and all mankind would forever despise Mr. Peltier if he were not to employ. Then, indeed, gentlemen, we should have seen the last humiliation fall on England; the tribunals, the spotless and venerable tribunals of this free country, reduced to be the ministers of the vengeance of Robespierre! What could have rescued us from this last disgrace? The honesty and courage of a jury. They would have delivered the judges of this country from the dire necessity of inflicting punishment on a brave and virtuous man, because he spoke truth of a monster. They would have despised the threats of a foreign tyrant, as their ancestors braved the power of oppression at home.

In the court where we are now met, Cromwell twice sent a satirist on his tyranny to be convicted and punished as a libeler; and in this court, almost in sight of the scaffold streaming with the blood of his Sovereign, within hearing of the clash of his bayonets which drove out Parliament with contumely, two successive juries rescued the intrepid satirist from his fangs, and sent out with defeat and disgrace the usurper's attorney-general from what he had the insolence to call his court. Even then, gentle-

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men, when all law and liberty were trampled under the feet of military banditti; when those great crimes were perpetrated on a high place and with a high hand against those who were the objects of public veneration, which, more than anything else, break their spirits and confound their moral sentiments, obliterate the distinctions between right and wrong in their understanding, and teach the multitude to feel no longer any reverence for that justice which they thus see triumphantly dragged at the chariot wheels of a tyrant; even then, when this unhappy country, triumphant indeed abroad, but enslaved at home, had no prospect but that of a long succession of tyrants wading through slaughter to a throne — even then, I say, when all seemed lost, the unconquerable spirit of English liberty survived in the hearts of English jurors. That spirit is, I trust in God, not extinct; and if any modern tyrant were, in the drunkenness of his insolence, to hope to overawe an English jury, I trust and I believe that they would tell him: "Our ancestors braved the bayonets of Cromwell; we bid defiance to yours. *Contempsi Catalinæ gladios — non pertimescam tuos!*"

What could be such a tyrant's means of overawing a jury? As long as their country exists, they are girt round with impenetrable armor. Till the destruction of their country no danger can fall upon them for the performance of their duty, and I do trust that there is no Englishman so unworthy of life as to desire to outlive England. But if any of us are condemned to the cruel punishment of surviving our country — if, in the inscrutable counsels of Providence, this favored seat of justice and liberty, this noblest work of human wisdom and virtue, be destined to destruction,— which I shall not be charged with national prejudice for saying would be the most dangerous wound ever inflicted on civilization,— at least let us carry with us into our sad exile the consolation that we ourselves have not violated the rights of hospitality to exiles, that we have not torn from the altar the suppliant who claimed protection as the voluntary victim of loyalty and conscience!

Gentlemen, I now leave this unfortunate gentleman in your hands. His character and his situation might interest your humanity; but, on his behalf, I ask only justice from you. I ask only a favorable construction of what cannot be said to be more than ambiguous language, and this you will soon be told from the highest authority is a part of justice.

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JAMES MADISON

(1751–1836)

N THE suggestion of James Madison, commissioners from Maryland and Virginia met at Mount Vernon, in March 1785, to discuss means of exercising their joint jurisdiction over Chesapeake Bay and the Potomac. Maryland having proposed to invite other States, Madison saw the opportunity for a general movement, and on his initiative were held, first, the Annapolis meeting of 1786, and, next year, the Philadelphia Convention, which adopted the Federal Constitution. As Madison had been one of the framers of the "Virginia plan" presented to the convention, he is called "the Father of the Constitution." By his letters in the Federalist and by his advocacy of the Constitution against Patrick Henry in the Virginia Convention, he probably did more than even Washington or Hamilton to secure its adoption. He did not remain a Federalist, however. He had advocated a Federal Government based on the power of the people of the whole Union, as well as of the States, but he intended that the States should remain free and indestructible, and when issues were joined against the Alien and Sedition Laws he wrote the celebrated Virginia Resolutions, asserting that: "The Constitution of the United States was a compact, to which the States were parties, granting limited powers of government; that in the case of deliberate, palpable, and dangerous exercise of other powers not granted by the compact, the States had the right, and were in duty bound to interpose for arresting the progress of the evils." When the Virginia Resolutions were afterwards quoted in support of the South Carolina theory of Nullification, Madison denied that they would bear such a construction and declared himself opposed to Nullification as a mode of the "interposition" he had advised.

As President of the United States, Madison ranks above Jefferson —and, indeed, above any other President, except Washington, in personal dignity and in the dignity of his administration. Unassuming and unselfish, he showed himself in public as in private life the best type of the educated American gentleman.

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STATE SOVEREIGNTY AND FEDERAL SUPREMACY

(From the Speech Delivered in the Virginia Convention, June 1788, on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution)

Mr. Chairman:—

IN CONSIDERING this great subject, I trust we shall find that part which gives the General Government the power of laying and collecting taxes indispensable and essential to the existence of any efficient or well-organized system of government. If we consult reason, and be ruled by its dictates, we shall find its justification there; if we review the experience we have had, or contemplate the history of nations, here we find ample reason to prove its expediency. There is little reason to depend for necessary supplies on a body which is fully possessed of the power of withholding them. If a government depend on other governments for its revenues — if it must depend on the voluntary contributions of its members — its existence must be precarious. A government which relies on thirteen independent sovereignties for the means of its existence is a solecism in theory and a mere nullity in practice. Is it consistent with reason that such a government can promote the happiness of any people? It is subversive of every principle of sound policy to trust the safety of a community with a government totally destitute of the means of protecting itself or its members. Can Congress, after the repeated unequivocal proofs it has experienced of the utter inutility and inefficacy of requisitions, reasonably expect that they would be hereafter effectual or productive? Will not the same local interests and other causes militate against a compliance? Whoever hopes the contrary must ever be disappointed. The effect, sir, cannot be changed without a removal of the cause. Let each county in this Commonwealth be supposed free and independent; let your revenues depend on requisitions of proportionate quotas from them; let application be made to them repeatedly: is it to be presumed that they would comply, or that an adequate collection could be made from partial compliances? It is now difficult to collect the taxes from them. How much would that difficulty be enhanced, were you to depend solely on their generosity! I appeal to the reason of every gentleman here, whether he is not persuaded that the present Confederation is as feeble as the government of Virginia would be in that

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case; to the same reason I appeal, whether it be compatible with prudence to continue a government of such manifest and palpable debility.

If we recur to history, and review the annals of mankind, I undertake to say that no instance can be produced, by the most learned man, of any confederate government that will justify a continuance of the present system, or that will not demonstrate the necessity of this change, and of substituting for the present pernicious and fatal plan the system now under consideration, or one equally energetic. The uniform conclusion drawn from a review of ancient and modern confederacies is that, instead of promoting the public happiness, or securing public tranquillity, they have, in every instance, been productive of anarchy and confusion, ineffectual for the preservation of harmony, and a prey to their own dissensions and foreign invasions.

The Amphictyonic league resembled our Confederation in its nominal powers; it was possessed of rather more power. The component States retained their sovereignty, and enjoyed an equality of suffrage in the federal council. But though its powers were more considerable in many respects than those of our present system, yet it had the same radical defect. Its powers were exercised over its individual members in their political capacities. To this capital defect it owed its disorders and final destruction. It was compelled to recur to the sanguinary coercion of war to enforce its decrees. The struggles consequent on a refusal to obey a decree, and an attempt to enforce it, produced the necessity of applying to foreign assistance. By complying with such an application, together with his intrigues, Philip of Macedon acquired sufficient influence to become a member of the league. This artful and insidious prince soon after became master of their liberties.

The Achæsan league, though better constructed than the Amphictyonic, in material respects, was continually agitated with domestic dissensions and driven to the necessity of calling in foreign aid; this, also, eventuated in the demolition of their confederacy. Had they been more closely united, their people would have been happier; and their united wisdom and strength would not only have rendered unnecessary all foreign interpositions in their affairs, but would have enabled them to repel the attack of an enemy. If we descend to more modern examples, we shall find the same evils resulting from the same sources.

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The Germanic system is neither adequate to the external defense nor internal felicity of the people. The doctrine of quotas and requisitions flourishes here. Without energy, without stability, the empire is a nerveless body. The most furious conflicts and the most implacable animosities between its members strikingly distinguish its history. Concert and co-operation are incompatible with such an injudiciously constructed system.

The republic of the Swiss is sometimes instanced for its stability; but even there, dissensions and wars of a bloody nature have been frequently seen among the cantons. A peculiar coincidence of circumstances contributes to the continuance of their political connection. Their feeble association owes its existence to their singular situation. There is a schism, this moment, in their confederacy, which, without the necessity of uniting for their external defense, would immediately produce its dissolution.

The confederate government of Holland is a further confirmation of the characteristic imbecility of such governments. From the history of this government we might derive lessons of the most important utility. . . .

We may derive much benefit from the experience of that unhappy country. Governments destitute of energy will ever produce anarchy. These facts are worthy the most serious consideration of every gentleman here. Does not the history of these confederacies coincide with the lesson drawn from our own experience? I must certainly pray that America may have sufficient wisdom to avail herself of the instructive information she may derive from a contemplation of the sources of their misfortunes, and that she may escape a similar fate by avoiding the causes from which their infelicity sprang. If the General Government is to depend on the voluntary contribution of the States for its support, dismemberment of the United States may be the consequence. In cases of imminent danger, only the States more immediately exposed to it would exert themselves; those remote from it would be too supine to interest themselves warmly in the fate of those whose distresses they did not immediately perceive. The General Government ought, therefore, to be empowered to defend the whole Union.

Must we not suppose that those parts of America which are most exposed will first be the scenes of war? Those nations whose interest is incompatible with an extension of our power, and who are jealous of our resources to become powerful and

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wealthy, must naturally be inclined to exert every means to prevent our becoming formidable. Will they not be impelled to attack the most exposed parts of the Union? Will not their knowledge of the weakness of our government stimulate them the more readily to such an attack? Those parts to which relief can be afforded with most difficulty are the extremities of the country, and will be the first objects of our enemies. The General Government, having no resources beyond what are adequate to its existing necessities, will not be able to afford any effectual succor to those parts which may be invaded.

America, in such a case, would palpably perceive the danger and folly of withholding from the Union a power sufficient to protect the whole territory of the United States. Such an attack is far from improbable; and if it be actually made, it is difficult to conceive a possibility of escaping the catastrophe of a dismemberment. On this subject we may receive an estimable and instructive lesson from an American confederacy — from an example which has happened in our country, and which applies to us with peculiar force, being most analogous to our situation; I mean that species of association or union which subsisted in New England. The colonies of Massachusetts, Bristol, Connecticut, and New Hampshire were confederated together.

The object of that confederacy was, primarily, to defend themselves against the inroads and depredations of the Indians. They had a common council consisting of deputies from each party, with an equality of suffrage in their deliberations. The general expenditures and charges were to be adequately defrayed. Its powers were very similar to those of the Confederation. Its history proves clearly that a government founded on such principles must ever disappoint the hopes of those who expect its operation to be conducive to the public happiness.

There are facts on record to prove that, instead of answering the end of its institution, or the expectation of its framers, it was violated with impunity and only regarded when it coincided perfectly with the views and immediate interests of the respective parties.

The strongest member of the Union availed itself of its circumstances to infringe their confederacy. Massachusetts refused to pay its quotas. In the war between England and Holland, it was found particularly necessary to make exertions for the protection of that country.

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Massachusetts, being then more powerful and less exposed than the other colonies, refused its contributions to the general defense. In consequence of this, the common council remonstrated against the council of Massachusetts. This altercation terminated in the dissolution of their union. From this brief account of a system perfectly resembling our present one, we may easily divine the inevitable consequences of a longer adherence to the latter. . . .

If we take experience for our guide, we shall find still more instructive direction on this subject. The weakness of the existing articles of the Union showed itself during the war. It has manifested itself, since the peace, to such a degree as admits of no doubt to a rational, intelligent, and unbiased mind, of the necessity of alteration; nay, this necessity is obvious to all America; it has forced itself on the minds of the people. The committee has been informed that the Confederation was not completed till the year 1781, when a great portion of the war was ended; consequently no part of the merit of the antecedent operations of the war could justly be attributed to that system. Its debility was perceived almost as soon as it was put in operation. A recapitulation of the proofs which have been experienced of its inefficacy is unnecessary. It is most notorious that feebleness universally marked its character. Shall we be safe in another war in the same situation? That instrument required the voluntary contributions of the States, and thereby sacrificed some of our best privileges. The most intolerable and unwarrantable oppressions were committed on the people during the late war. The gross enormity of those oppressions might have produced the most serious consequences were it not for the spirit of liberty which preponderated against every consideration.

A scene of injustice, partiality, and oppression may bring heavenly vengeance on any people. We are now, by our suffering, expiating the crimes of the otherwise glorious revolution. Is it not known to every member of this committee that the great principles of a free government were reversed through the whole progress of that scene? Was not every State harassed? Was not every individual oppressed and subjected to repeated distresses? Was this right? Was it a proper form of government that warranted, authorized, or overlooked the most wanton deprivation of property? Had the government been vested with complete power to procure a regular and adequate supply of

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revenue, those oppressive measures would have been unnecessary. But, sir, can it be supposed that a repetition of such measures would ever be acquiesced in? Can a government that stands in need of such measures secure the liberty or promote the happiness or glory of any country? If we do not change this system, consequences must ensue that gentlemen do not now apprehend. If other testimony were necessary, I might appeal to that which I am sure is very weighty, but which I mention with reluctance. At the conclusion of the war, the man who had the most extensive acquaintance with the nature of the country, who well understood its interests, and who had given the most unequivocal and most brilliant proofs of attachment to its welfare, when he laid down the arms wherewith he had so nobly and successfully defended his country, publicly testified his disapprobation of the present system and suggested that some alteration was necessary to render it adequate to the security of our happiness. I did not introduce that great name to bias any gentleman here. Much as I admire and revere the man, I consider these members as not to be actuated by the influence of any man; but I introduce him as a respectable witness to prove that the Articles of Confederation were inadequate and that we must resort to something else. His modesty did not point out what ought to be done, but said that some great change was necessary. But, sir, testimony, if wished for, may be found in abundance, and numerous conclusive reasons urged for this change. Experience was daily producing such irresistible proofs of the defects of this system, that this Commonwealth was induced to exert her influence to meliorate it; she began that noble work, in which I hope she will persist; she proposed to revise it; her proposition met with that concurrence which that of a respectable party will always meet. I am sure, if demonstration were necessary on the part of this commonwealth, reasons have been abundantly heard, in the course of this debate, manifold and cogent enough, not only to operate conviction, but to disgust an attentive hearer. Recollect the resolution of the year 1784. It was then found that the whole burden of the Union was sustained by a few States. This State was likely to be saddled with a very disproportionate share. That expedient was proposed (to obviate this inconvenience) which has been placed in its true light. It has been painted in sufficient horrors by the honorable gentleman who spoke last.

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I agree with the honorable gentleman [Mr. Henry] that national splendor and glory are not our objects; but does he distinguish between what will render us secure and happy at home, and what will render us respectable abroad? If we be free and happy at home, we shall be respectable abroad.

The Confederation is so notoriously feeble that foreign nations are unwilling to form any treaties with us; they are apprised that our General Government cannot perform any of its engagements, but that they may be violated at pleasure by any of the States. Our violation of treaties already entered into proves this truth unequivocally. No nation will, therefore, make any stipulations with Congress, conceding any advantages of importance to us; they will be the more adverse to entering into engagements with us, as the imbecility of our government enables them to derive many advantages from our trade, without granting us any return. But were this country united by proper bands, in addition to other great advantages, we could form very beneficial treaties with foreign States. But this can never happen without a change in our system. Were we not laughed at by the minister of that nation from which we may be able yet to extort some of the most salutary measures for this country? Were we not told that it was necessary to temporize till our government acquired consistency? Will any nation relinquish national advantages to us? You will be greatly disappointed if you expect any such good effects from this contemptible system. Let us recollect our conduct to that country from which we have received the most friendly aid. How have we dealt with that benevolent ally? Have we complied with our most sacred obligations to that nation? Have we paid the interest punctually from year to year? Is not the interest accumulating while not a shilling is discharged of the principal? The magnanimity and forbearance of that ally are so great that she has not called upon us for her claims, even in her own distress and necessity. This, sir, is an additional motive to increase our exertions. At this moment of time a very considerable amount is due from us to that country and others. . . .

We have been obliged to borrow money even to pay the interest of our debts. This is a ruinous and most disgraceful expedient. Is this a situation on which America can rely for security and happiness? How are we to extricate ourselves? The honorable member told us we might rely on the punctuality

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and friendship of the States, and that they will discharge their quotas for the future. The contributions of the States have been found inadequate from the beginning, and are diminishing instead of increasing. From the month of June 1787 till June 1788, they have paid only $276,641 into the Federal Treasury for the purposes of supporting the National Government and discharging the interest of the national debts — a sum so very insufficient that it must greatly alarm the friends of their country. Suggestions and strong assertions dissipate before these facts.

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HENRY EDWARD, CARDINAL MANNING

(1808–1892)

THE address on the two thousand six hundred and fifteenth anniversary of the foundation of Rome probably did more than any other single discourse to give Cardinal Manning his promotion, and it no doubt expresses more fully than any other the feeling which had influenced him in leaving the Church of England for that of Rome.

Manning was born at Totteridge, England, July 15th, 1808. His father, a wealthy East India merchant, educated him carefully. At Oxford where he graduated, he had Gladstone as a companion and Charles Wordsworth as a tutor. Entering the Church of England, he was made Archdeacon of Chichester in 1840. Ten years later he resigned, and leaving the Church of England was ordained a Roman Catholic priest. He was steadily advanced by the Pope, who made him Archbishop of Westminster in 1865 and Cardinal in 1875. He died January 14th, 1892. His published sermons, addresses, and other works are numerous. As a writer and public speaker, he illustrates the best traditions of the English language, in purity of diction, in directness of movement, and in strength of construction.

«ROME THE ETERNAL»

(From a Discourse Delivered before the Accademia Quiriti, in Rome, on the Two Thousand Six Hundred and Fifteenth Anniversary of the City, April 21st, 1863)

I KNOW of no point of view in which the glory of Rome is more conspicuous than in its civil mission to the races of the world.

When the seat of empire was translated from Rome to Constantinople, all the culture and civilization of Italy seemed to be carried away to enrich and to adorn the East. It seemed as if God had decreed to reveal to the world what his Church could do without the world, and what the world could not do without the Church. A more melancholy history than that of the Byzantine Empire is nowhere to be read. It is one long narrative of the usurpation and insolent dominion of the world over the

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Church, which, becoming schismatical and isolated, fell easily under its imperial masters. With all its barbaric splendor and its imperial power, what has Constantinople accomplished for the civilization or the Christianity of the East? If the salt had kept its savor, it would not have been cast out and trodden under the foot of the Eastern Antichrist.

While this was accomplishing in the East, in the West a new world was rising, in order, unity, and fruitfulness, under the action of the Pontiffs. Even the hordes which inundated Italy were changed by them from the wildness of nature to the life of Christian civilization. From St. Leo to St. Gregory the Great, Christian Europe may be said not to exist! Rome stood alone under the rule of its Pontiffs, while as yet empires and kingdoms had no existence. Thus, little by little, and one by one, the nations which now make up the unity of Christendom were created, trained, and formed to political societies. First Lombardy, then Gaul, then Spain, then Germany, than Saxon England; then the first germs of lesser States began to appear. But to whom did they owe the laws, the principles, and the influences which made their existence possible, coherent, and mature? It was to the Roman Pontiffs that they owed the first rudiments of their social and political order. It was the exposition of the Divine law by the lips of the Vicar of Jesus Christ that founded the Christian policy of the world.

This the Church has been able to do without the world, and even in spite of it. Nothing can be conceived more isolated, more feeble, or more encompassed with peril, than the line of the Roman Pontiffs; nevertheless, they have maintained inviolate their independence with their sacred deposit of faith and of jurisdiction, through all ages and through all conflicts, from the beginning to this hour. It seemed as if God willed to remove the first Christian emperor from Rome in the early fervor of his conversion, lest it should seem as if the sovereignty of the Church were in any way the creation of his power. God is jealous of his own kingdom and will not suffer any unconsecrated hand to be laid upon his ark, even for its support.

The "stone cut out without hands," which became a great mountain and filled the whole earth, is typical, not only of the expansion and universality of the Church, but of its mysterious and supernatural character. No human hand has accomplished its greatness. The hand of God alone could bring it to pass.

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What is there in the history of the world parallel to the Rome of the Christians? The most warlike and imperial people of the world gave place to a people unarmed and without power. The pacific people arose from the Catacombs and entered upon the possession of Rome as their inheritance. The existence of Christian Rome, both in its formation, and next in its perpetuity, is a miracle of Divine power. God alone could give it to his people; God alone could preserve it to them, and them in it. What more wonderful sight than to see a Franciscan monk leading the Via Crucis in the Flavian Amphitheatre, or the Passionist missionaries conversing peacefully among the ilexes and the vaults where the wild beasts from Africa thirsted for the blood of Christians? Who has prevailed upon the world for one thousand five hundred years to fall back as Attila did from Christian Rome? Who has persuaded its will, and paralyzed its ambitions and conflicting interests? Such were my thoughts the other day when the Sovereign Pontiff, surrounded by the princes and pastors of the Church, was celebrating the festival of the Resurrection over the Confession of Saint Peter. I thought of the ages past, when in the amphitheatre of Nero, within which we stood, thousands of martyrs fell beneath the arms of the heathen. And now, the Rex Pacificus, the vicar of the prince of peace, there holds his court and offers over the tomb of the Apostle the unbloody sacrifice of our redemption. The legions of Rome have given way before a people who have never lifted a hand in war. They have taken the city of the Cæsars, and hold it to this day. The more than imperial court which surrounded the Vicar of Jesus Christ surpassed the glories of the Empire. "This is the victory which overcometh the world, even our Faith." The noblest spectacle upon earth is an unarmed man, whom all the world cannot bend by favor or by fear. Such a man is essentially above all worldly powers. And such, eminent among the inflexible, is he, the Pontiff and King, who, in the midst of the confusions and rebellions of the whole earth, bestowed that day his benediction upon the city and the world.

It is no wonder to me that Italians should believe in the primacy of Italy. Italy has, indeed, a primacy, but not that of which some have dreamed. The primacy of Italy is the presence of Rome; and the primacy of Rome is in its apostleship to the whole human race, in the science of God with which it has illuminated mankind, in its supreme and world-wide jurisdiction over

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souls, in its high tribunal of appeal from all the authorities on earth, in its inflexible exposition of the moral law, in its sacred diplomacy, by which it binds the nations of Christendom into a confederacy of order and of justice,— these are its true, supreme, and — because God so has willed — its inalienable and incommunicable primacy among the nations of the earth. Take these away, and Rome becomes less than Jerusalem, and Italy one among the nations, and not the first. The world does not return upon its path, nor reproduce its past. Time was when Rome wielded an irresistible power by its legions and its armies throughout the world. The nations of Europe and of the East were then barbarous or unorganized, without cohesion and without unity of will or power. Those uncivilized and dependent provinces are now kingdoms and empires, wielding each a power, in peace and in war, mature and massive as the power of Rome in its ripest season. It is a delirium of the memory for Italy to dream now of empire and of supremacy in the order of nature — that is, of war and conquest. The primacy of Italy is Christian and Catholic, or it has none. Alas for your fair land and for your noble race, if, forgetting its true greatness, it covet false glory which is not its own. In that hour it abdicates its mission — the greatest a people ever had — and descends from its primacy among the nations of the world. A vocation lost is prelude to a fall. This is not to increase, but to decrease before God and man.

I do not remember in the history of the world any example of the permanent union of temporal splendor with spiritual fruitfulness and power. The sceptre had departed from Judah when the waters of eternal life flowed from Jerusalem throughout the world. Rome had ceased to be the seat of empire when it became the mother of Christian nations. When Constantinople became imperial, it began to fail in its witness for the faith and unity of Jesus Christ. The kingdoms and empires of Christian Europe have been faithful to the Holy See in their depression, and rebellious in their prosperity. The two nations most Catholic, most Christian, most filial in their love of the kingdom of God, are Ireland and Poland. Rome, I may say, because it is the seat of the Vicar of our crucified Lord, is supreme in the spiritual order, feeble in the natural and political. "It always bears about in the body the mortification of the Lord Jesus, that the life also of Jesus may be manifested in its body." Such is its normal state. Let it be recognized as the law of its existence

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and of its sovereignty, lest the incantations of the tempter steal away the hearts of men with visions of unity and empire and splendor in this world. It is a severe vocation to be the cross-bearers in the procession of the Vicars of our crucified Master. But to this you are called. Romans, if you would renew your courage for this conflict, lift up your eyes to the cloud of witnesses which hover above your heads; to the martyrs and confessors, the Pontiffs and Levites, the virgins and saints, who on this soil, by tears and by blood, have overcome the world and are now before the throne. Look, too, at the Catholic unity upon earth, which but the other day flew hither on the wings of faith and love and filial devotion to surround the Vicar of Christ; look at the frontiers of the Holy Church, which are flowing outwards with ever-expanding force, conquering, and embracing the conquered in the unity of the true fold; look at the circuit of the kingdom of God, which rests upon the sunrise and the sunset, upon the farthest north and upon the islands of the southern seas. It was never yet so vast or widespreading; never did the ends of the earth lift up their heads towards the Vicar of the Incarnate Word so universally as at this hour. In the moment of its anguish and its affliction, when the world believes it to be in feebleness and decline, the Holy See is putting forth mightier powers, and reigning over wider realms than ever till now.

But if this be not enough, learn of the world, of its miseries and its anguish. Rome laid the foundations of Christian Europe on the basis of a supernatural unity; and, with all its revolutions and inundations of evil, it abides to this day. England laid the foundations of North America upon the basis of natural society; and the lifetime of one man is long enough to touch the beginning and the ending of its political unity. The unity of faith, and filial obedience to the unity of the Church in the person of its head, in ages past fused the discordant races of England, France, and Spain, and made of them kingdoms and monarchies, which endure, in their massive consolidation and unity of mind and will, unto this hour. So God has ever brought social and political unity out of the chaos of disorder. They who begin by contending against the fountain and law of unity doom themselves to division and confusion. They are wrestling with necessity; and he who contends with necessity must fail: "Whoso shall fall upon that stone shall be broken, and on whomsoever it shall fall it will grind him to powder."

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Bear with me yet a little if I say too much, my colleagues of the Accademia; I so love your eternal city as the head of the nations of the world, that I love it not at all as the capital of a nation. We are surfeited to sickness with national greatness and national pride. London, and Manchester, and Glasgow, and Dublin; Paris, and Lyons, and Madrid; St. Petersburg and New York — are more than enough, with their gigantic enterprise, worldly splendor, gross material luxury, and low vulgarity of national egotism, to cure any man of the folly of exchanging the mother and the mistress of the people of the world for the handmaid and the servant of a nation. If we desire to be citizens of a national capital, we should go elsewhere. Christian Rome is our mother. An Italian London has neither our admiration nor our love.

The eternity of Rome, then, if it be not an exact truth, is nevertheless no mere rhetorical exaggeration. It denotes the fact that Rome has been chosen of God as the centre of his kingdom, which is eternal, as the depository of his eternal truths, as the fountain of his graces which lead men to a higher life, as the witness and guardian of law and principles of which the sanctions and the fruit are eternal. Romans, you have a vocation and a mission, a trust and an account to give at the great day, to which none but you are called. You have inherited the birthright of Jerusalem, not in the supernatural order only, but even in the order of nature. This very city, and you that dwell in it, partake of the destinies and the glories of the Incarnation beyond all other cities and races. You are the sons and the servants, the Levites and the guardians, of the Vicar of the Incarnate Son of God. You are, as your own Saint Leo called you of old, "*Gens sancta, populus electus, civitas sacerdotalis et regia.*" Your very existence is so interwoven with the Incarnation that its sufferings are your sufferings, its victories your victories, its glories your glories. Therefore you have lived in eighteen hundred years of combat; therefore you waded through three hundred years of persecution and have stood as the *triarii* of your ancient legions, immovable through fifteen hundred years of interminable conflict. When all others gave way before the world, Rome has ever restored the battle. And now once more the cry is heard, "*Res ad triaros perventum est.*" Bear with me if I venture to utter what we, in our weakness and isolation, hope for at your hands.

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I shall say little if I say that on you, under God, we depend for the immutability, not only of the faith in all the radiance of its exposition and illustration, and of the Divine law in all its breadth, and purity, and perfection. You are also charged with the custody of other truths which descend from this great sphere of supernatural light, and with the application of those truths to the turbulent and unstable elements of human society.

You have to bear witness that God has a kingdom among men; that Christianity is not a mere school of speculation, a *philosophia umbratilis*, an intellectual theory for unoccupied men, feeble, inert, and dependent upon the supremacy of human power, but a true and proper sovereignty over the wills of men and of races, of individuals, and of empires; a kingdom not of this world, but in it, and because not of it, therefore superior to it; able to move it, because not resting upon it; mighty to control it, because it is the kingdom of eternal justice, whose law in the end will infallibly prevail. In all the Christian world save only here, this Divine truth has been enfeebled or betrayed; that is, in all separated countries the world is supreme. Jerusalem, Alexandria, Constantinople, St. Petersburg, Berlin, Canterbury, are witnesses of the judgment which falls on those who falter in their fidelity to the sovereignty of truth. In Catholic countries, where the national egotism is strong, the action of truth is weak because the sovereignty and independence of the Church are crossed and shackled. With you alone it is in the plenitude of its freedom. Rome is sovereign because it is independent; it is independent because it has no master upon earth. The Vicar of Jesus Christ is the source of its liberty and the guardian of its sovereignty. Call it temporal power if you will, the thing is the same,—the freedom, the independence, the sovereignty of the kingdom of God on earth, in all the world and over all mankind, resting upon its centre in the patrimony of the Church, within which the shadow of no other sovereignty can intrude without a violation of the supernatural order of grace. Because it is the only spot of ground on which the Vicar of Christ can set the sole of his foot in freedom, therefore they who would drive the Incarnation off the face of the earth hover about it to wrest it from his hands. For this, then, you are witnesses and guardians. You are set in an age when the material civilization of the world has been piled up to a gigantic height, to testify that there is an order higher still; that as the soul is more than the body, and

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eternity than time, so the moral order is above the material; that justice is above power; that justice may suffer long, but must reign at last; that power is not right; that no wrongs can be sanctified by success; nor can the immutable laws of right and wrong be confounded. You are the heirs of those who renewed the face of the world and created the Christian civilization of Europe. You are the depositories of truth and principles which are indestructible in their vitality. Though buried like the ear of corn in the Pyramids of Egypt, they strike root and spring into fruit when their hour is come. Truths and principles are divine; they govern the world; to suffer for them is the greatest glory of man. *Non mors sed causa mortis facit martyrem.* So long as Rome is grafted upon the Incarnation, it is the head of the world. If it were possible to cut it out from its Divine root, it would fall from its primacy among mankind. But this cannot be. He who chose it for his own has kept it to this hour. He who has kept it until now will keep it until the end. Be worthy of your high destiny for his sake, who has called you to it; for our sakes, who look up to you as, under God, our light and our strength.

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CHIEF-JUSTICE MANSFIELD

(WILLIAM MURRAY, EARL OF MANSFIELD)

(1705–1793)

THE Earl of Mansfield was, perhaps, the ablest of those learned and earnest Conservatives whose determination to make no concession to what they regarded as anarchy and treason lost England its American colonies. His speeches in Parliament in this connection show his great intellect and force of character, but he is at his best in those short and dignified orations he was accustomed to make from the bench in such great cases as that of Wilkes and the Dean of St. Asaph. No one was more thoroughly aware of the lasting importance of the principle involved in these cases than he, and, without doubt, he felt that he was speaking to posterity more than to any one in his court-room when he defied intimidation and scorned popularity. Macaulay calls him the founder of "the Modern School of Tories," who concede that government must be *de facto* through parliaments or other representative popular assemblies. As a lawyer, he has scarcely been surpassed. It has been said of him that finding the common law, especially as it bears on business, in a chaotic state, he left a body of decisions so nearly adequate to its definition that they are almost equivalent to a code. He was born at Scone, Scotland, March 2d, 1705, the eleventh child of Viscount Stormont, an impoverished Scottish nobleman, whose Jacobite politics are supposed to have greatly influenced the opinions of his son.

Graduating at Oxford, and beginning the practice of law in London, William Murray married Lady Elizabeth Finch, daughter of the Earl of Winchelsea, in 1838. Four years later he was appointed Solicitor-General. His great abilities were appreciated by his party, and he was steadily promoted. He was made Attorney-General in 1754, and Chief-Justice of the Court of King's Bench in 1756—leaving the House of Commons to take the office against the wishes of his party leaders, who thought him too valuable there to be spared. In 1776 he was made Earl of Mansfield. Twelve years later he resigned from the bench, and lived in retirement until his death, on March 20th, 1793.

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THE NEW LAW COURTS, LONDON.

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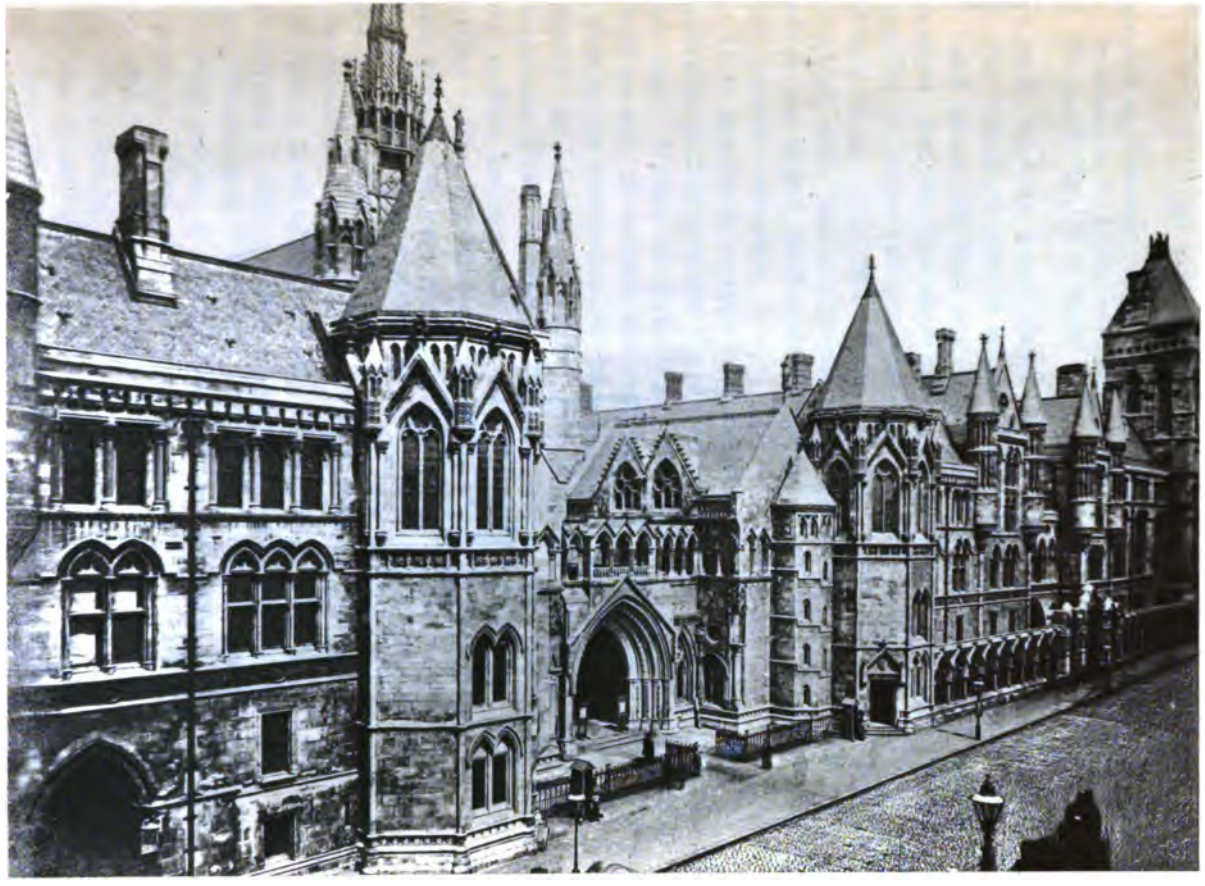

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IN THE CASE OF JOHN WILKES

(An Address Delivered to the Audience at the Trial of John Wilkes, on Two Informations for Libel, in the King's Bench and House of Lords; 4 George III., 10 George III., 1763–70)

IT IS fit to take some notice of the various terrors hung out; the numerous crowds which have attended and now attend in and about the hall, out of all reach of hearing what passes in court; and the tumults which, in other places, have shamefully insulted all order and government. Audacious addresses in print dictate to us, from those they call the people, the judgment to be given now, and afterwards upon the conviction. Reasons of policy are urged, from danger to the kingdom, by commotions and general confusion.

Give me leave to take the opportunity of this great and respectable audience, to let the whole world know all such attempts are vain. Unless we have been able to find an error which will bear us out, to reverse the outlawry, it must be affirmed. The Constitution does not allow reasons of State to influence our judgments. God forbid it should! We must not regard political consequences, how formidable soever they might be; if rebellion were the certain consequence, we are bound to say, *fiat justitia, ruat cœlum.* The Constitution trusts the king with reasons of State and policy; he may stop prosecutions; he may pardon offenses; it is his to judge whether the law or the criminal should yield. We have no election. None of us encouraged or approved the commission of either of the crimes of which the defendant is convicted; none of us had any hand in his being prosecuted. As to myself, I took no part (in another place) in the addresses for that prosecution. We did not advise or assist the defendant to fly from justice; it was his own act and he must take the consequences. None of us have been consulted, or had anything to do with the present prosecution. It is not in our power to stop it; it was not in our power to bring it on. We cannot pardon. We are to say what we take the law to be; if we do not speak our real opinion, we prevaricate with God and our own consciences.

I pass over many anonymous letters I have received. Those in print are public; some of them have been brought judicially before the court. Whoever the writers are, they take the wrong

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way. I will do my duty unawed. What am I to fear? That *mendax infamia* from the press, which daily coins false facts and false motives? The lies of calumny carry no terror to me. I trust that my temper of mind and the color and conduct of my life have given me a suit of armor against these arrows. If, during this king's reign, I have ever supported his government and assisted his measures, I have done it without any other reward than the consciousness of doing what I thought right. If I have ever opposed I have done it upon the points themselves, without mixing in party or faction, and without any collateral views. I honor the king and respect the people, but many things acquired by the favor of either are, in my account, objects not worth ambition. I wish popularity, but it is that popularity which follows, not that which is run after. It is that popularity which, sooner or later, never fails to do justice to the pursuit of noble ends by noble means. I will not do that which my conscience tells me is wrong, upon this occasion, to gain the huzzas of thousands, or the daily praise of all the papers which come from the press; I will not avoid doing what I think is right, though it should draw on me the whole artillery of libels, all that falsehood and malice can invent, or the credulity of a deluded populace can swallow. I can say, with a great magistrate, upon an occasion and under circumstances not unlike, *Ego hoc animo semper fui, ut invidiam virtute partam, gloriam, haud infamiam, putarem.*

The threats go further than abuse; personal violence is denounced. I do not believe it; it is not the genius of the worst men of this country, in the worst of times. But I have set my mind at rest. The last end that can happen to any man never comes too soon, if he fall in support of the law and liberty of his country (for liberty is synonymous to law and government). Such a shock, too, might be productive of public good; it might awake the better part of the kingdom out of that lethargy which seems to have benumbed them, and bring the mad part back to their senses as men intoxicated are sometimes stunned into sobriety.

Once for all, let it be understood that no endeavors of this kind will influence any man who at present sits here. If they had any effect, it would be contrary to their intent; leaning against their impression might give a bias the other way. But I hope, and I know, that I have fortitude enough to resist even that weakness. No libels, no threats, nothing that has happened,

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nothing that can happen, will weigh a feather against allowing the defendant, upon this and every other question, not only the whole advantage he is entitled to from substantial law and justice, but every benefit from the most critical nicety of form, which any other defendant could claim under the like objection. The only effect I feel is an anxiety to be able to explain the grounds upon which we proceed so as to satisfy all mankind, "that a flaw of form given way to in this case could not have been got over in any other."

IN THE CASE OF THE DEAN OF ST. ASAPH

(From the Proceedings on an Indictment in the Case of the King on the Prosecution of William Jones, against the Rev. William Davies Shipley, Dean of St. Asaph, for a Seditious Libel, at the Great Session Held at Wrexham for the County of Denbigh, on Monday, September 1st, 1783)

WHEN I was attorney-general I prosecuted some libels; one I remember from the condition and circumstances of the defendant; he was found guilty. He was a common councilman of the city of London; and I remember another circumstance: it was the first conviction in the city of London that had been for twenty-seven years. It was the case of the King and Nutt, and there he was convicted under the very same direction, before Lord Chief-Justice Ryder.

In the year 1756 I came into the office I now hold. Upon the first prosecution for a libel which stood in my paper, I think (but I am not sure), but I think it was the case of the King and Shebbeare; I made up my mind as to the direction I ought to give. I have uniformly given the same in all, almost in the same form of words. No counsel ever complained of it to the court. Upon every defendant being brought up for judgment, I have always stated the direction I gave, and the court has always assented to it. The defense of a lawful excuse never existed in any case before me, therefore I have told the jury if they were satisfied with the evidence of the publication, and that the meanings of the innuendos were as stated, they ought to find the defendant guilty,—that the question of law was upon record for the judgment of the court. This direction being as of course, and no question ever raised concerning it in court (though I have had the misfortune to try many libels, in very warm times, against

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defendants most obstinately and factiously defended), yet the direction being as of course, and no objection made it, it passed as of course and there are no notes of what passed. In one case of the King and Woodfall, on account of a very different kind of question (but upon account of another kind of question), there happens to be a report, and there the direction I have stated is adopted by the whole court as right, and the doctrine of Mr. Justice Buller is laid down in express terms. Such a judicial practice in the precise point from the revolution, as I think, down to the present day, is not to be shaken by arguments of general theory or popular declamation. Every species of criminal prosecution has something peculiar in the mode of procedure; therefore, general propositions, applied to all, tend only to complicate and embarrass the question. No deduction or conclusion can be drawn from what a jury may do from the form of procedure to what they ought to do upon the fundamental principles of the constitution and the reason of the thing, if they will act with integrity and good conscience.

The fundamental definition of trial by jury depends upon a universal maxim that is without an exception. Though a definition or maxim in law, without an exception, it is said, is hardly to be found, yet this I take to be a maxim without an exception: *Ad quæstionem juris non respondent juratores; ad quæstionem facti non respondent judices.*

Where a question can be severed by the form of pleading, the distinction is preserved upon the face of the record, and the jury cannot encroach upon the jurisdiction of the court; where, by the form of pleading, the two questions are blended together, and cannot be separated upon the face of the record, the distinction is preserved by the honesty of the jury. The Constitution trusts that, under the direction of a judge, they will not usurp a jurisdiction which is not in their province. They do not know, and they are not presumed to know, the law; they are not sworn to decide the law; they are not required to decide the law. If it appear upon the record, they are to leave it there, or they may find the facts subject to the opinion of the court upon the law. But further, upon the reason of the thing, and the eternal principles of justice, the jury ought not to assume the jurisdiction of the law. As I said before, they do not know and are not presumed to know anything of the matter; they do not understand the language in which it is conceived, or the meaning of the

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terms. They have no rule to go by but their affections and wishes. It is said, if a man give a right sentence upon hearing one side only, he is a wicked judge, because he is right by chance only and has neglected taking the proper method to be informed; so the jury who usurp the judicature of law, though they happen to be right, are themselves wrong, because they are right by chance only and have not taken the constitutional way of deciding the question. It is the duty of the judge, in all cases of general justice, to tell the jury how to do right, though they have it in their power to do wrong, which is a matter entirely between God and their own consciences.

To be free is to live under a government by law. The liberty of the press consists in printing without any previous license, subject to the consequences of law. The licentiousness of the press is Pandora's Box, the source of every evil. Miserable is the condition of individuals, dangerous is the condition of the State, if there is no certain law, or, which is the same thing, no certain administration of law to protect individuals, or to guard the State.

Jealousy of leaving the law to the court, as in other cases, so in the case of libels, is now, in the present state of things, puerile rant and declamation. The judges are totally independent of the ministers that may happen to be, and of the King himself. Their temptation is rather to the popularity of the day. But I agree with the observation cited by Mr. Cowper from Mr. J. Foster, "that a popular judge is an odious and a pernicious character."

A REPLY TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM

(From the Speech against Parliamentary Exemption from Arrest for Debt, Delivered in the House of Lords, May 9th, 1770)

IT HAS been imputed to be by the noble Earl on my left [the Earl of Chatham] that I, too, am running the race of popularity. If the noble Earl means by popularity, that applause bestowed by after ages on good and virtuous actions, I have long been struggling in that race: to what purpose, all-trying Time can alone determine. But if he means that mushroom popularity, which is raised without merit, and lost without a crime, he is much mistaken in his opinion. I defy the noble

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Earl to point out a single action of my life in which the popularity of the times ever had the smallest influence on my determination. I thank God I have a more permanent and steady rule for my conduct — the dictates of my own breast. Those who have foregone that pleasing advice, and given up their minds to the slavery of every popular impulse, I sincerely pity: I pity them still more, if vanity leads them to mistake the shouts of a mob for the trumpet of fame. Experience might inform them that many who have been saluted with the huzzas of a crowd one day have received its execrations the next; and many, who by the popularity of their own times have been held up as spotless patriots, have, nevertheless, appeared on the historian's page, when truth has triumphed over delusion, as the assassins of liberty. Why, then, the noble Earl can think I am ambitious of present popularity, that echo of folly and shadow of renown, I am at a loss to determine.

Besides, I do not know that the bill now before your lordships will be popular; it depends much upon the caprice of the day. It may not be popular to compel people to pay their debts; and, in that case, the present must be a very unpopular bill. It may not be popular, either, to take away any of the privileges of Parliament; for I very well remember, and many of your lordships may remember, that not long ago the popular cry was for the extension of privilege; and so far did they carry it at that time, that it was said the privilege protected members even in criminal actions; nay, such was the power of popular prejudices over weak minds, that the very decisions of some of the courts were tinctured with that doctrine. It was, undoubtedly, an abominable doctrine; I thought so then, and I think so still; but, nevertheless, it was a popular doctrine and came immediately from those who are called the friends of liberty,— how deservedly, time will show. True liberty, in my opinion, can only exist when justice is equally administered to all,— to the king and to the beggar. Where is the justice, then, or where is the law, that protects a Member of Parliament, more than any other man, from the punishment due to his crimes? The laws of this country allow of no place, nor any employment, to be a sanctuary for crimes; and, where I have the honor to sit as judge, neither royal favor nor popular applause shall ever protect the guilty.

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CHIEF-JUSTICE MARSHALL

(JOHN MARSHALL, CHIEF-JUSTICE OF SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES)

(1755–1835)

JOHN MARSHALL, whom Americans without vainglory may boast of as the greatest lawyer of modern times, immortalized himself and conferred an incalculable benefit on humanity by making it clear for the first time that the law is higher than the government, and that any mere enactment of government repugnant to the fundamental law is *ab initio* void. The principle is not new, for without its operation all power is arbitrary; but in England the struggle had been so long between the arbitrary power of the King on the one hand and of the Parliament on the other, that the supremacy of fundamental law was generally lost sight of except by a few great men,—the Chathams and Burkes, who reverenced law, not merely as the sovereign will of all the people, but as the moral purpose through which the world was created and the omnipotent method by which all good purposes are to be achieved. Planting himself on the written constitution, Chief-Justice Marshall defined the fundamental principle of liberty in declaring void all arbitrary acts of the enacting power. His doctrine of fundamental law, expressing the will of the entire people, made the Constitution effective as it could never have been otherwise, and asserted for the Supreme Court, sitting to declare the supreme law, the final power of arbitrament in all Federal questions. The principle of the supremacy of fundamental law thus declared, and the method of making it effective, are to the invisible civilization of the morals and the intellect what the discovery of America has been to the visible improvement of the physical world.

John Marshall was born in Fauquier County, Virginia, September 24th, 1755. At the age of twenty, he enlisted in the Continental Army, and rose to the rank of Captain. Beginning the practice of law after leaving the army, and pursuing it with great success, he served as a Member of the Virginia Legislature, Member of Congress, Envoy to France, Secretary of State (1800), and from 1801 to his death, July 6th, 1835, as Chief-Justice of the United States Supreme Court. As a member of the Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1788, he

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gave most effective assistance to Madison in holding the convention against Patrick Henry's eloquent prophecies of disaster, involved, as it seemed to him, in the adoption of the Federal Constitution. On the bench as in his speeches in the Virginia Convention, Chief-Justice Marshall was supposed to favor the Federal Government at the expense of "State rights," but far above all such controversy, his fame as the great champion of law against arbitrary power endures and will endure as long as men love liberty and order well enough to be grateful for what has been done to make them possible.

W. V. B.

OPPOSING PATRICK HENRY

(Delivered in the Virginia Convention, Debating the Federal Constitution, June 10th, 1788)

Mr. Chairman:—

I CONCEIVE that the object of the discussion now before us is whether democracy or despotism be most eligible. I am sure that those who framed the system submitted to our investigation, and those who now support it intend the establishment and security of the former. The supporters of the Constitution claim the title of being firm friends of the liberty and the rights of mankind. They say that they consider it as the best means of protecting liberty. We, sir, idolize democracy. Those who oppose it have bestowed eulogiums on monarchy. We prefer this system to any monarchy, because we are convinced that it has a greater tendency to secure our liberty and promote our happiness. We admire it, because we think it a well-regulated democracy. It is recommended to the good people of this country; they are, through us, to declare whether it be such a plan of government as will establish and secure their freedom.

Permit me to attend to what the honorable gentleman [Mr. Henry] has said. He has expatiated on the necessity of a due attention to certain maxims—to certain fundamental principles, from which a free people ought never to depart. I concur with him in the propriety of the observance of such maxims. They are necessary in any government, but more essential to a democracy than to any other. What are the favorite maxims of democracy? A strict observance of justice and public faith, and a steady adherence to virtue. These, sir, are the principles of a good government. No mischief, no misfortune, ought to deter us

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from a strict observance of justice and public faith. Would to heaven that these principles had been observed under the present government! Had this been the case, the friends of liberty would not be so willing now to part with it. Can we boast that our government is founded on these maxims? Can we pretend to the enjoyment of political freedom or security, when we are told that a man has been, by an act of assembly, struck out of existence without a trial by jury, without examination, without being confronted with his accusers and witnesses, without the benefits of the law of the land? Where is our safety, when we are told that this act was justifiable because the person was not a Socrates? What has become of the worthy Member's maxims? Is this one of them? Shall it be a maxim that a man shall be deprived of his life without the benefit of the law? Shall a deprivation of life be justified by answering that the man's life was not taken *secundum artem* because he was a bad man? Shall it be a maxim that government ought not to be empowered to protect virtue?

The honorable Member, after attempting to vindicate that tyrannical legislative act to which I have been alluding, proceeded to take a view of the dangers to which this country is exposed. He told us that the principal danger arose from a government which, if adopted, would give away the Mississippi. I intended to proceed regularly, by attending to the clause under debate; but I must reply to some observations which were dwelt upon to make impressions on our minds favorable to the plan upon the table. Have we no navigation in, or do we derive no benefit from the Mississippi? How shall we retain it? By retaining that weak government which has hitherto kept it from us? Is it thus that we shall secure that navigation? Give the government the power of retaining it, and then we may hope to derive actual advantages from it. Till we do this we cannot expect that a government which hitherto has not been able to protect it will have the power to do it hereafter. Have we attended too long to consider whether this government would be able to protect us? Shall we wait for further proofs of its inefficacy? If, on mature consideration, the Constitution will be found to be perfectly right on the subject of treaties, and containing no danger of losing that navigation, will he still object? Will he object because eight States are unwilling to part with it? This is no good ground of objection.

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He then stated the necessity and probability of obtaining amendments. This we ought to postpone until we come to that clause, and make up our minds whether there be anything unsafe in this system. He conceived it impossible to obtain amendments after adopting it. If he was right, does not his own argument prove that, in his own conception, previous amendments cannot be had? for, sir, if subsequent amendments cannot be obtained, shall we get amendments before we ratify? The reasons against the latter do not apply against the former. There are in this State, and in every State in the Union, many who are decided enemies of the Union. Reflect on the probable conduct of such men. What will they do? They will bring amendments which are local in their nature, and which they know will not be accepted. What security have we that other States will not do the same? We are told that many in the States were violently opposed to it. They are more mindful of local interests. They will never propose such amendments as they think would be obtained. Disunion will be their object. This will be attained by the proposal of unreasonable amendments. This, sir, though a strong cause, is not the only one that will militate against previous amendments. Look at the comparative temper of this country now, and when the late Federal Convention met. We had no idea then of any particular system. The formation of the most perfect plan was our object and wish. It was imagined that the States would accede to, and be pleased with, the proposition that would be made them. Consider the violence of opinions, the prejudices and animosities which have been since imbibed. Will not these operate greatly against mutual concessions, or a friendly concurrence? This will, however, be taken up more properly at another time. He says we wish to have a strong, energetic, powerful government. We contend for a well-regulated democracy. He insinuates that the power of the government has been enlarged by the convention, and that we may apprehend it will be enlarged by others. The convention did not, in fact, assume any power.

They have proposed to our consideration a scheme of government which they thought advisable. We are not bound to adopt it, if we disapprove of it. Had not every individual in this community a right to tender that scheme which he thought most conducive to the welfare of his country? Have not several gentlemen already demonstrated that the convention did not exceed

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their powers? But the Congress have the power of making bad laws, it seems. The Senate, with the President, he informs us, may make a treaty which shall be disadvantageous to us; and that, if they be not good men, it will not be a good Constitution. I shall ask the worthy Member only, if the people at large, and they alone, ought to make laws and treaties. Has any man this in contemplation? You cannot exercise the powers of government personally yourselves. You must trust to agents. If so, will you dispute giving them the power of acting for you, from an existing possibility that they may abuse it? As long as it is impossible for you to transact your business in person, if you repose no confidence in delegates, because there is a possibility of their abusing it, you can have no government; for the power of doing good is inseparable from that of doing some evil.

We may derive from Holland lessons very beneficial to ourselves. Happy that country which can avail itself of the misfortunes of others — which can gain knowledge from that source without fatal experience! What has produced the late disturbances in that country? The want of such a government as is on your table, and having, in some measure, such a one as you are about to part with. The want of proper powers in the government, the consequent deranged and relaxed administration, the violence of contending parties, and inviting foreign powers to interpose in their disputes, have subjected them to all the mischiefs which have interrupted their harmony. I cannot express my astonishment at his high-colored eulogium on such a government. Can anything be more dissimilar than the relation between the British government and the colonies, and the relation between Congress and the States? We were not represented in Parliament. Here we are represented. Arguments which prove the impropriety of being taxed by Britain do not hold against the exercise of taxation by Congress.

Let me pay attention to the observation of the gentleman who was last up, that the power of taxation ought not to be given to Congress. This subject requires the undivided attention of this House. This power I think essentially necessary, for without it there will be no efficiency in the government. We have had a sufficient demonstration of the vanity of depending on requisitions. How, then, can the general government exist without this power? The possibility of its being abused is urged as an argument against its expediency. To very little purpose did

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Virginia discover the defects in the old system; to little purpose, indeed, did she propose improvements, and to no purpose is this plan constructed for the promotion of our happiness, if we refuse it now, because it is possible that it may be abused. The Confederation has nominal powers, but no means to carry them into effect. If a system of government were devised by more than human intelligence, it would not be effectual if the means were not adequate to the power. All delegated powers are liable to be abused. Arguments drawn from this source go in direct opposition to government, and in recommendation of anarchy. The friends of the Constitution are as tenacious of liberty as its enemies. They wish to give no power that will endanger it. They wish to give the government powers to secure and protect it. Our inquiry here must be whether the power of taxation be necessary to perform the objects of the Constitution, and whether it be safe and as well guarded as human wisdom can do it. What are the objects of the National Government? To protect the United States and to promote the general welfare. Protection in time of war is one of the principal objects. Until mankind shall cease to have ambition and avarice, wars will arise.

The prosperity and happiness of the people depend on the performance of these great and important duties of the general government. Can these duties be performed by one State? Can one State protect us, and promote our happiness? The honorable gentleman who has gone before me [Governor Randolph] has shown that Virginia cannot do these things. How, then, can they be done? By the national government only. Shall we refuse to give it power to do them? We are answered, that the powers may be abused; that, though the Congress may promote our happiness, yet they may prostitute their powers to destroy our liberties. This goes to the destruction of all confidence in agents. Would you believe that men who had merited your highest confidence would deceive you? Would you trust them again after one deception? Why, then, hesitate to trust the general government? The object of our inquiry is, Is the power necessary and is it guarded? There must be men and money to protect us. How are armies to be raised? Must we not have money for that purpose? But the honorable gentleman says that we need not be afraid of war. Look at history, which has been so often quoted. Look at the great volume of human nature. They will foretell you that a defenseless country cannot be

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secure. The nature of man forbids us to conclude that we are in no danger from war. The passions of men stimulate them to avail themselves of the weakness of others. The powers of Europe are jealous of us. It is our interest to watch their conduct, and guard against them. They must be pleased with our disunion. If we invite them by our weakness to attack us, will they not do it? If we add debility to our present situation, a partition of America may take place.

It is, then, necessary to give the government that power in time of peace which the necessity of war will render indispensable, or else we shall be attacked unprepared. The experience of the world, a knowledge of human nature, and our own particular experience, will confirm this truth. When danger shall come upon us, may we not do what we were on the point of doing once already — that is, appoint a dictator? Were those who are now friends to this Constitution less active in the defense of liberty on that trying occasion than those who oppose it? When foreign dangers come, may not the fear of immediate destruction by foreign enemies impel us to take a most dangerous step? Where, then, will be our safety? We may now regulate and frame a plan that will enable us to repel attacks and render a recurrence to dangerous expedients unnecessary. If we be prepared to defend ourselves, there will be little inducement to attack us. But if we defer giving the necessary power to the general government till the moment of danger arrives, we shall give it then, and with an unsparing hand. America, like other nations, may be exposed to war. The propriety of giving this power will be proved by the history of the world, and particularly of modern republics. I defy you to produce a single instance where requisitions of several individual States, composing a confederacy, have been honestly complied with. Did gentlemen expect to see such punctuality in America? If they did, our own experience shows the contrary.

We are told that the Confederation carried us through the war. Had not the enthusiasm of liberty inspired us with unanimity, that system would never have carried us through it. It would have been much sooner terminated had that government been possessed of due energy. The inability of Congress and the failure of States to comply with the constitutional requisitions rendered our resistance less efficient than it might have been. The weakness of that government caused troops to be against us

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which ought to have been on our side, and prevented all resources of the community from being called at once into action. The extreme readiness of the people to make their utmost exertions to ward off solely the pressing danger supplied the place of requisitions. When they came solely to be depended on, their inutility was fully discovered. A bare sense of duty, or a regard to propriety, is too feeble to induce men to comply with obligations. We deceive ourselves if we expect any efficacy from these. If requisitions will not avail, the government must have the sinews of war some other way. Requisitions cannot be effectual. They will be productive of delay, and will ultimately be inefficient. By direct taxation the necessities of the government will be supplied in a peaceable manner without irritating the minds of the people. But requisitions cannot be rendered efficient without a civil war — without great expense of money and the blood of our citizens. Are there any other means? Yes, that Congress shall apportion the respective quotas previously, and if not complied with by the States, that then this dreaded power shall be exercised. The operation of this has been decided by the gentleman who opened the debate. He cannot be answered. This great objection to that system remains unanswered. Is there no other argument which ought to have weight with us on this subject? Delay is a strong and pointed objection to it.

We are told by the gentleman who spoke last, that direct taxation is unnecessary, because we are not involved in war. This admits the propriety of recurring to direct taxation if we were engaged in war. It has not been proved that we have no dangers to apprehend on this point. What will be the consequence of the system proposed by the worthy gentleman? Suppose the States should refuse?

The worthy gentleman who is so pointedly opposed to the Constitution proposed remonstrances. Is it a time for Congress to remonstrate, or compel a compliance with requisitions, when the whole wisdom of the Union and the power of Congress are opposed to a foreign enemy? Another alternative is that, if the States shall appropriate certain funds for the use of Congress, Congress shall not lay direct taxes. Suppose the funds appropriated by the States for the use of Congress should be inadequate, it will not be determined whether they be insufficient till after the time at which the quota ought to have been paid; and then, after so long a delay, the means of procuring money, which

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ought to have been employed in the first instance, must be recurred to. May they not be amused by such ineffectual and temporizing alternatives from year to year, until America shall be enslaved? The failure in one State will authorize a failure in another. The calculation in some States that others will fail, will produce general failures. This will also be attended with all the expenses which we are anxious to avoid. What are the advantages to induce us to embrace this system? If they mean that requisitions should be complied with, it will be the same as if Congress had the power of direct taxation. The same amount will be paid by the people.

It is objected that Congress will not know how to lay taxes so as to be easy and convenient for the people at large. Let us pay strict attention to this objection. If it appear to be totally without foundation, the necessity of levying direct taxes will obviate what the gentleman says; nor will there be any color for refusing to grant the power.

The objects of direct taxes are well understood; they are but few. What are they? Lands, slaves, stock of all kinds, and a few other articles of domestic property. Can you believe that ten men selected from all parts of the State, chosen because they know the situation of the people, will be unable to determine so as to make the tax equal on, and convenient for, the people at large? Does any man believe that they would lay the tax without the aid of other information besides their own knowledge, when they know that the very object for which they are elected is to lay the taxes in a judicious and convenient manner? If they wish to retain the affections of the people at large, will they not inform themselves of every circumstance that can throw light on the subject? Have they but one source of information? Besides their own experience — their knowledge of what will suit their constituents — they will have the benefit of the knowledge and experience of the State legislature. They will see in what manner the legislature of Virginia collects its taxes. Will they be unable to follow their example? The gentlemen who shall be delegated to Congress will have every source of information that the legislatures of the States can have, and can lay the taxes as equally on the people, and with as little oppression, as they can. If, then, it be admitted that they can understand how to lay them equally and conveniently, are we to admit that they will not do it, but that, in violation of every principle that ought to govern

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men, they will lay them so as to oppress us? What benefit will they have by it? Will it be promotive of their re-election? Will it be by wantonly imposing hardships and difficulties on the people at large, that they will promote their own interest, and secure their re-election? To me it appears incontrovertible that they will settle them in such a manner as to be easy for the people. Is the system so organized as to make taxation dangerous? I shall not go to the various checks of the government, but examine whether the immediate representation of the people be well constructed. I conceive its organization to be sufficiently satisfactory to the warmest friend of freedom. No tax can be laid without the consent of the House of Representatives. If there be no impropriety in the mode of electing the representatives, can any danger be apprehended? They are elected by those who can elect representatives in the State legislature. How can the votes of the electors be influenced? By nothing but the character and conduct of the man they vote for. What object can influence them when about choosing him? They have nothing to direct them in the choice, but their own good. Have you not as pointed and strong a security as you can possibly have? It is a mode that secures an impossibility of being corrupted. If they are to be chosen for their wisdom, virtue, and integrity, what inducement have they to infringe on our freedom? We are told that they may abuse their power. Are there strong motives to prompt them to abuse it? Will not such abuse militate against their own interest? Will not they and their friends feel the effects of iniquitous measures? Does the representative remain in office for life? Does he transmit his title of representative to his son? Is he secured from the burden imposed on the community? To procure their re-election, it will be necessary for them to confer with the people at large, and convince them that the taxes laid are for their good. If I am able to judge on the subject, the power of taxation now before us is wisely conceded and the representatives are wisely elected.

The honorable gentleman said that a government should ever depend on the affections of the people. It must be so. It is the best support it can have. This government merits the confidence of the people, and, I make no doubt, will have it. Then he informed us again of the disposition of Spain with respect to the Mississippi, and the conduct of the government with regard to it. To the debility of the Confederation alone may justly be

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imputed every cause of complaint on this subject. Whenever gentlemen will bring forward their objections, I trust we can prove that no danger to the navigation of that river can arise from the adoption of this Constitution. I beg those gentlemen who may be affected by it to suspend their judgment till they hear it discussed. Will, says he, the adoption of this Constitution pay our debts? It will compel the States to pay their quotas. Without this, Virginia will be unable to pay. Unless all the States pay, she cannot. Though the States will not coin money (as we are told), yet this government will bring forth and proportion all the strength of the Union. That economy and industry are essential to our happiness, will be denied by no man. But the present government will not add to our industry. It takes away the incitements to industry, by rendering property insecure and unprotected. It is the paper on your table that will promote and encourage industry. New Hampshire and Rhode Island have rejected it, he tells us. New Hampshire, if my information be right, will certainly adopt it. The report spread in this country, of which I have heard, is, that the representatives of that State having, on meeting, found they were instructed to vote against it, returned to their constituents without determining the question, to convince them of their being mistaken, and of the propriety of adopting it.

The extent of the country is urged as another objection, as being too great for a republican government. This objection has been handed from author to author, and has been certainly misunderstood and misapplied. To what does it owe its source? To observations and criticisms on governments, where representation did not exist. As to the legislative power, was it ever supposed inadequate to any extent? Extent of country may render it difficult to execute the laws, but not to legislate. Extent of country does not extend the power. What will be sufficiently energetic and operative in a small territory will be feeble when extended over a wide-extended country. The gentleman tells us there are no checks in this plan. What has become of his enthusiastic eulogium on the American spirit? We should find a check and control, when oppressed, from that source. In this country there is no executive personal stock of interest. The interest of the community is blended and inseparably connected with that of the individual. When he promotes his own, he promotes that of the community. When we consult the common

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good, we consult our own. When he desires such checks as these, he will find them abundantly here. They are the best checks. What has become of his eulogium on the Virginia constitution? Do the checks in this plan appear less excellent than those of the constitution of Virginia? If the checks in the Constitution be compared to the checks in the Virginia constitution, he will find the best security in the former.

The temple of liberty was complete, said he, when the people of England said to their king that he was their servant. What are we to learn from this? Shall we embrace such a system as that? Is not liberty secure with us, where the people hold all powers in their own hands, and delegate them cautiously, for short periods, to their servants, who are accountable for the smallest maladministration? Where is the nation that can boast greater security than we do? We want only a system like the paper before you to strengthen and perpetuate this security.

The honorable gentleman has asked if there be any safety or freedom when we give away the sword and the purse. Shall the people at large hold the sword and the purse without the interposition of their representatives? Can the whole aggregate community act personally? I apprehend that every gentleman will see the impossibility of this. Must they, then, not trust them to others? To whom are they to trust them but to their representatives, who are accountable for their conduct? He represents secrecy as unnecessary, and produces the British government as a proof of its inutility. Is there no secret there? When deliberating on the propriety of declaring war, or on military arrangements, do they deliberate in the open fields? No, sir. The British government affords secrecy when necessary, and so ought every government. In this plan secrecy is only used when it would be fatal and pernicious to publish the schemes of government. We are threatened with the loss of our liberties by the possible abuse of power, notwithstanding the maxim that those who give may take away. It is the people that give power and can take it back. What shall restrain them? They are the masters who give it, and of whom their servants hold it.

He then argues against the system because it does not resemble the British government in this—that the same power that declares war has not the means of carrying it on. Are the people of England more secure if the Commons have no voice in declaring war? Or are we less secure by having the Senate

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joined with the President? It is an absurdity, says the worthy Member, that the same man should obey two masters — that the same collector should gather taxes for the general government and the State legislature. Are they not both the servants of the people? Are not Congress and the State legislatures the agents of the people, and are they not to consult the good of the people? May not this be effected by giving the same officer the collection of both taxes? He tells you that it is an absurdity to adopt before you amend. Is the object of your adoption to amend slowly? The objects of your adoption are union, safety against foreign enemies, and protection against faction — against what has been the destruction of all republics. These impel you to its adoption. If you adopt it what shall restrain you from amending it, if, in trying it, amendments shall be found necessary? The government is not supported by force, but depending on our free will. When experience shall show us any inconveniences, we can then correct it. But until we have experience on the subject, amendments, as well as the Constitution itself, are to try. Let us try it, and keep our hands free to change it when necessary. If it be necessary to change government, let us change that government which has been found to be defective. The difficulty we find in amending the Confederation will not be found in amending this Constitution. Any amendments in the system before you will not go to a radical change; a plain way is pointed out for the purpose. All will be interested to change it, and therefore all exert themselves in getting the change. There is such a diversity of sentiment in human minds that it is impossible we shall ever concur in one system till we try it. The power given to the general government over the time, place, and manner of election, is also strongly objected to. When we come to that clause, we can prove it is highly necessary and not dangerous.

The worthy Member has concluded his observations by many eulogiums on the British Constitution. It matters not to us whether it be a wise one or not. I think that, for America at least, the government on your table is very much superior to it. I ask you if your House of Representatives would be better than it is, if a hundredth part of the people were to elect a majority of them. If your Senators were for life, would they be more agreeable to you? If your President were not accountable to you for his conduct, — if it were a constitutional maxim that he could do no wrong, — would you be safer than you are now? If

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you can answer, Yes, to these questions, then adopt the British Constitution. If not, then, good as that government may be, this is better. The worthy gentleman who was last up, said the confederacies of ancient and modern times were not similar to ours, and that consequently reasons which applied against them could not be urged against it. Do they not hold out one lesson very useful to us? However unlike in other respects, they resemble it in its total inefficacy. They warn us to shun their calamities, and place in our government those necessary powers, the want of which destroyed them. I hope we shall avail ourselves of their misfortunes, without experiencing them. There was something peculiar in one observation he made. He said that those who governed the cantons of Switzerland were purchased by foreign powers, which was the cause of their uneasiness and trouble.

How does this apply to us? If we adopt such a government as theirs, will it not be subject to the same inconvenience? Will not the same cause produce the same effect? Who shall protect us from it? What is our security? He then proceeded to say the causes of war are removed from us; that we are separated by the sea from the powers of Europe, and need not be alarmed. Sir, the sea makes them neighbors to us. Though an immense ocean divides us, we may speedily see them with us. What dangers may we not apprehend to our commerce! Does not our naval weakness invite an attack on our commerce? May not the Algerines seize our vessels? Cannot they, and every other predatory or maritime nation, pillage our ships and destroy our commerce, without subjecting themselves to any inconvenience? He would, he said, give the general government all necessary powers. If anything be necessary, it must be so to call forth the strength of the Union when we may be attacked, or when the general purposes of America require it. The worthy gentleman then proceeded to show that our present exigencies are greater than they will ever be again. Who can penetrate into futurity? How can any man pretend to say that our future exigencies will be less than our present? The exigencies of nations have been generally commensurate to their resources. It would be the utmost impolicy to trust to a mere possibility of not being attacked, or obliged to exert the strength of the community. He then spoke of a selection of particular objects by Congress, which, he says, must necessarily be oppressive; that Congress, for instance, might select taxes, and that all but landholders would escape.

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Cannot Congress regulate the taxes so as to be equal on all parts of the community? Where is the absurdity of having thirteen revenues? Will they clash with, or injure, each other? If not, why cannot Congress make thirteen distinct laws, and impose the taxes on the general objects of taxation in each State, so as that all persons of the society shall pay equally, as they ought.

He then told you that your continental government will call forth the virtue and talents of America. This being the case, will they encroach on the power of the State governments? Will our most virtuous and able citizens wantonly attempt to destroy the liberty of the people? Will the most virtuous act the most wickedly? I differ in opinion from the worthy gentleman. I think the virtue and the talents of the members of the general government will tend to the security, instead of the destruction, of our liberty. I think that the power of direct taxation is essential to the existence of the general government, and that it is safe to grant it. If this power be not necessary, and as safe from abuse as any delegated power can possibly be, then I say that the plan before you is unnecessary; for it imports not what system we have, unless it have the power of protecting us in time of peace and war.

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THOMAS F. MARSHALL

(1800–1864)

THOMAS F. MARSHALL, one of the most celebrated Kentucky orators, has at his best a command of language not inferior to that of Henry Clay himself. He served in the House of Representatives from 1841 to 1843, and made during that time a number of extraordinarily eloquent speeches. Unfortunately, they are inadequately reported, as a rule. He himself was so much aggrieved by the style of reporting then in vogue, that he rose in the House and publicly requested — not without manifest indignation — that thereafter his speeches should not be reported at all. The speech of July 6th, 1841, was published in full and verbatim in the supplement to the Congressional Globe, evidently from his own copy. It seems to be the only one of his congressional speeches which was not badly mangled by the Globe's report of them. Marshall served as judge of the Louisville Circuit Court, but his temperament fitted him better for the successes at the bar and as a political speaker, on which his reputation rests. He died September 22d, 1864.

NATIONAL POWER AND THE AMERICAN PEACE POLICY

(From a Speech in the House of Representatives, July 6th, 1841, on a Bill to Dispose of the Proceeds of Public Land Sales)

WHENCE, Mr. Chairman, springs this jealousy of the Federal Government, and whither does it tend? One would imagine that it was created but to be feared and watched. It is treated as something naturally and necessarily hostile and dangerous to the States and the people. The powers with which it is armed are considered but as so many instruments of destruction. It is represented as a great central mass, charged with poison and death, attracting everything within its sphere, and polluting or destroying everything which it attracts. It is represented as something foreign and inimical, whose constant and necessary policy it is to bow the sovereign crests of these States at the footstool of its own power by force, or to conquer and debase them into stipendiaries and vassals by bribes and

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corruption. Sir, while I listened to the impassioned invective of the gentleman from Virginia, I felt my mind inflaming against this mortal and monstrous foe, meditating such foul designs against public virtue and public liberty.

But the question recurred: What is this Government, and who are we? Is Kentucky to be bought and sold, that she may be corrupted and enslaved? Are New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia —all—all—to be brought under the hammer and struck off—honor, independence, freedom—all at a stroke? And who the auctioneer? Who the purchaser? Their own representatives, freely chosen and entirely responsible? Nay, sir, they are doubly represented in this Government, so bent upon their destruction. We come fresh from the hands of the people themselves, soon to return and account for our conduct. Those in the other end of the Capitol represent the States as sovereigns. Strange violation of all natural order, that we should plot the ruin of those whose breath is our life, whose independence and safety are our glory. Whither does this jealousy tend? Are the States only safe in alienation from, and enmity to, their common head? Are we most to dread the national authority when exerted most beneficently upon State interests? Sir, what can this mean, and to what does it tend, save dismemberment? Why continue a Government whose only power is for mischief; which, to be innocent, must be inert; and which, where most it seems to favor and to bless, means the more insidiously, but the more surely, to corrupt and to destroy? I can understand why a Consolidationist, if there be such a foe to reason and to liberty, or an early Federalist, feeling an overwrought jealousy of the State sovereignties, and dreading the uniform tendency of confederated republics to dismemberment and separation, should feel unwilling to part with the power of internal improvement, and grant the revenue necessary to its exertion along with the power. I can understand why such an one, stretching his vision forward to that period when a sum approximating to the national debt of England shall have been expended by State authority, and the State governments, surrounded with corporations of their own creation and invested in perpetuity with the vast revenues in future to be derived from this vast and most profitable expenditure, shall swell into populous, opulent, and potent nations, the people looking up to them as the source from whence the facilities of commerce have been derived,—I can understand that such an one

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might apprehend that, under these circumstances, the more distant orb, the central sun, would grow dim and lose its just proportions to the planets which were destined to wheel around it. But how a State Rights man, one whose jealousies are all in the other direction, who dreads, from the centripetal tendency, the absorption of the smaller bodies and the consolidation of the system,—how such an one can see aught in this bill to threaten the power and independence of the States passes my understanding. For my part, I see no danger on either hand. I see power, independence, and ample revenues for the States; but, as they swell, the nation which they compose cannot dwindle. The resources of the National Treasury expand in exact proportion to the expansion of the population, the wealth, the commerce, and consumption of the States. Indeed, sir, as a mere measure of national finance, as a far-sighted means of deepening the sources, the exclusive and peculiar sources, into which the States are forbidden to dip, and from whence they as governments cannot drink, I should vote for the measure. Imagine the vast wilderness tamed into cultivation, eight hundred millions of acres of fertile land teeming with people, studded with cities, and intersected and connected by highways and canals; compute the consumption, if you can; imagine the revenue to be derived from it; concede, what is manifest, that, as the revenue increases, the burdens on commerce will diminish; and tell me,—no, sir, you will not tell me,—that the effect of this bill is to weaken the national powers or to oppress the people.

But, sir, the provision for resuming this fund in time of war is a bribe to peace. Surely, sir, no one desires to convert this into a military Republic, to infuse into the States or the people a thirst for wars of ambition and of conquest. The meaning of the objection must be that the pecuniary consideration in the bill,—the distributive share of the States being limited to the time of peace,—will emasculate the spirit of the States, will tempt them to bear with wrongs and indignities, to shrink from just and necessary wars, wars of defense,—will, in a word, make slaves and cowards of us all. In this sense, this odious sense, is the bill considered as a bribe to peace. Mr. Chairman, I have shown, I think, that the necessary effect and avowed object of this bill is to increase the strength, enlarge the resources, establish the credit, and relieve the finances of the States, at the same time that it multiplies the means and instruments of military

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operations, and extends the sources of national revenue. It is a new philosophy which teaches that, in proportion as you enlarge the objects for which men are most apt to fight, and improve the force with which they are to be defeated, you destroy the courage which makes that force efficient. Peace, sir, is emphatically the policy of this country; peace is the true policy of the world; a policy into which religion and the most enlarged philosophy may yet indoctrinate mankind.

> "Oh! monarchs, did ye taste the peace ye mar,
> The hoarse, dull drum might sleep, and man be happy yet."

In one sense, industry and commerce are bribes to peace. The peculiar industry of the South is emphatically a bribe to peace. War, which would interrupt, if not destroy, our foreign commerce, and cut off the planting interest from their best customers, their most profitable markets, war would fall with aggravated hardships upon the agriculture of the South. Shall we inhibit the growth of cotton? Shall we break up all industry which has foreign consumption for its object? Shall we sunder the chain which binds the civilized nations of the world into one great commercial Republic? Shall we undo all that art, science, reason, and religion have achieved to change the direction of human genius, to soften and beautify the face of modern society? Shall we teach nations again to look to war, spoils, and conquest, for the means of subsistence and the only true foundations of glory and of empire?

The gentleman from Virginia, in the prosecution of this objection, warns New York and Maine against the consequence of the bill. He exhorts New York, in an especial manner, to stand by her rights,—to maintain inviolate her territory by her own authority. Try McLeod by your own laws and courts, and, if you find him guilty, hang him, said the gentleman [Mr. Wise]; hang him upon the border, hang him high, and within full view of the Canadian fortresses, that his dangling corse may flout the British cannon. Sir, I understood the gentleman [Mr. Wise] the other day to approve the ground taken by the American secretary [Mr. Webster] in that most dignified correspondence which he held with the British minister in relation to the case of McLeod. I understood that ground to be that the course of the British Government on this subject had rendered it a national question. The jurisdiction of such belongs exclusively to the

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National Government. If wrong has been done, New York has surer remedy in the united force and constitutional guarantee of twenty-six States than she could find in her own arm, potent as it is. The soil of New York is the soil of the United States; the citizens of New York are citizens of the United States; the right and the power, constitutional and physical, have been surrendered to this Government to settle all questions touching the safety of either, in their collision with other countries, whether by negotiation or the sterner arbitrament of the sword. Surely the State of New York feels no diffidence in that Government of which she forms so important a part. Surely she means not to answer the gentleman's appeal, and, throwing off the national authority, to draw questions of peace and war from the American Government to her own State courts. She means not to treat or war with England or any other country upon her own separate account. The duty to carry on war is surely in reason, as it is undoubtedly in our fundamental law, intimately and inseparately connected with the power to declare it, and to decide all questions with foreign countries which may involve such a result. That the rights and the honor of New York are secure from violation or insult in the hands where the Constitution has placed them, I should deem it akin to treason to doubt. Her rights, her honor, her territory, are the rights, the honor, the territory of the United States. She is part of my country. She is covered by the imperial flag, overshadowed every inch of her by the wings of the imperial eagle, protected by his beak and talons. For these sentiments I may be permitted to answer here for at least one State in the Union. Kentucky is placed securely in the centre. So long as this Government lasts, her soil is virgin and safe from the impress of a hostile foot. Her fields — thanks to the wisdom of our ancestors, the goodness of God, and the guardian power of this imperial Republic — her fields can never be wasted by ravage, her hearths can never taste of military violation. She knows full well the source of her security, the shield of her liberties.

The exterior States are the bulwarks of her safety — the impregnable fortresses which break the storm of war, and keep far distant from her borders its ravage and its horrors. She views them as such, and regards their rights, their safety, and their liberty, as her own. She is one of a system of nerves which vibrate at the least touch from without, from the remotest

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extremity to the centre. The frontier of New York is her frontier; the Atlantic seaboard is her seaboard; and the millions expended in fortifying the one or the other, she regards as expended for her defense. A blow aimed at New York is a blow aimed at herself; an indignity or an outrage inflicted upon any State in this Union is inflicted upon the whole and upon each. To submit to such were to sacrifice her independence and her freedom — to make all other blessings valueless, all other property insecure. Not all the unsettled domain of the Union, in full property and jurisdiction, could bribe her to such a sacrifice. The blood she has shed on the snows of Canada and in the swamps of Louisiana gives ample testimony to her readiness to meet danger at a distance. She seeks no separate destiny; she feels no interest alien from the common country. She wants this money to strengthen herself, and, by strengthening herself, to make the whole country stronger and better able to maintain any future conflict in which its interests or its safety may involve it.

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LUTHER MARTIN

(1744–1826)

WHEN the Federal Constitution was adopted in 1787, Luther Martin left the convention to avoid signing it, because, as he thought, the convention had rejected "the federal principle" as the basis of the government. By a "federal" government, as it was then understood, was meant a league of States united by the Constitution operating as a treaty. On his return to Maryland, he addressed the legislature explaining the action of the convention and defining his own attitude. He wished a federal government by "the States as States" and not by "the people of the States" — this latter form in his view constituting a National rather than a Federal government.

Born in 1744 and trained for the bar, where he easily won prominence, he served as Attorney-General of Maryland from 1778 to 1805. Reappointed in 1818, he was disabled in 1820 by paralysis, and in 1822 the legislature of Maryland attested his extraordinary popularity by an act requiring every lawyer in the State to pay a license fee of five dollars a year to pension him. He died July 10th, 1826.

IS THE GOVERNMENT FEDERAL OR NATIONAL?

(From the Address of 1778 to the Maryland Legislature, Characterizing the Proceedings in the Convention for the Adoption of the Federal Constitution)

IT HAS been observed, Mr. Speaker, by my honorable colleagues, that the debate respecting the mode of representation was productive of considerable warmth. This observation is true. But, sir, it is equally true that, if we could have tamely and servilely consented to be bound in chains, and meanly condescended to assist in riveting them fast, we might have avoided all that warmth, and have proceeded with as much calmness and coolness as any Stoic could have wished. Having thus, sir, given the honorable members of this house a short history of some of the interesting parts of our proceedings, I shall beg leave to take up the system published by the convention, and shall

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request your indulgence while I make some observations on different parts of it, and give you such further information as may be in my power. [Here Mr. Martin read the first section of the first article, and then proceeded.] With respect to this part of the system, Mr. Speaker, there was a diversity of sentiment. Those who were for two branches in the legislature — a House of Representatives and a Senate — urged the necessity of a second branch, to serve as a check upon the first, and used all those trite and commonplace arguments which may be proper and just when applied to the formation of a State government over individuals variously distinguished in their habits and manners, fortune and rank; where a body chosen in a select manner, respectable for their wealth and dignity, may be necessary, frequently, to prevent the hasty and rash measures of a representation more popular. But, on the other side, it was urged that none of those arguments could with propriety be applied to the formation of a federal government over a number of independent States — that it is the State governments which are to watch over and protect the rights of the individual, whether rich or poor, or of moderate circumstances, and in which the democratic and aristocratic influence or principles are to be so blended, modified, and checked, as to prevent oppression and injury — that the federal government is to guard and protect the States and their rights, and to regulate their common concerns — that a federal government is formed by the States, as States (that is, in their sovereign capacities), in the same manner as treaties and alliances are formed — that a sovereignty, considered as such, cannot be said to have jarring interests or principles, the one aristocratic, and the other democratic; but that the principles of a sovereignty, considered as a sovereignty, are the same, whether that sovereignty is monarchical, aristocratical, democratical, or mixed — that the history of mankind doth not furnish an instance, from its earliest history to the present time, of a federal government constituted of two distinct branches — that the members of the federal government, if appointed by the States in their State capacities (that is, by their legislatures, as they ought), would be select in their choice; and, coming from different States, having different interests and views, this difference of interests and views would always be a sufficient check over the whole; and it was shown that even Adams, who, the reviewers have justly observed, appears to be as fond of checks and

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balances as Lord Chesterfield of the graces,—even he declares that a council consisting of one branch has always been found sufficient in a federal government.

It was urged that the government we were forming was not in reality a federal, but a national, government, not founded on the principles of the preservation, but the abolition or consolidation, of all State governments—that we appeared totally to have forgotten the business for which we were sent, and the situation of the country for which we were preparing our system—that we had not been sent to form a government over the inhabitants of America, considered as individuals—that, as individuals, they were all subject to their respective State governments, which governments would still remain though the federal government should be dissolved—that the system of government we were intrusted to prepare was a government over these thirteen States; but that, in our proceedings, we adopted principles which would be right and proper only on the supposition that there were no State governments at all, but that all the inhabitants of this extensive continent were, in their individual capacity, without government, and in a state of nature—that, accordingly, the system proposes the legislature to consist of two branches, the one to be drawn from the people at large, immediately, in their individual capacity; the other to be chosen in a more select manner, as a check upon the first. It is, in its very introduction, declared to be a compact between the people of the United States as individuals; and it is to be ratified by the people at large, in their capacity as individuals; all which, it was said, would be quite right and proper, if there were no State governments, if all the people of this continent were in a state of nature, and we were forming one national government for them as individuals; and is nearly the same as was done in most of the States, when they formed their governments over the people who composed them.

Whereas it was urged that the principles on which a federal government over States ought to be constructed and ratified are the reverse; and, instead of the legislature consisting of two branches, one branch was sufficient, whether examined by the dictates of reason or the experience of ages—that the representation, instead of being drawn from the people at large, as individuals, ought to be drawn from the States, as States, in their sovereign capacity—that, in a federal government, the parties to

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the compact are not the people, as individuals, but the States, as States; and that it is by the States, as States, in their sovereign capacity, that the system of government ought to be ratified, and not by the people, as individuals.

It was further said that in a federal government over States equally free, sovereign, and independent, every State ought to have an equal share in making the federal laws or regulations, in deciding upon them, and in carrying them into execution, neither of which was the case in this system, but the reverse, the States not having an equal voice in the legislature, nor in the appointment of the executive, the judges, and the other officers of government. It was insisted that in the whole system there was but one federal feature — the appointment of the Senators by the States in their sovereign capacity, that is, by their legislatures, and the equality of suffrage in that branch. . . .

Viewing it as a national, not a federal government,— as calculated and designed, not to protect and preserve, but to abolish and annihilate the State governments,— it was opposed for the following reasons: It was said that this continent was much too extensive for one national government, which should have sufficient power and energy to pervade, and hold in obedience and subjection, all its parts, consistently with the enjoyment and preservation of liberty — that the genius and habits of the people of America were opposed to such a government — that, during their connection with Great Britain, they had been accustomed to have all their concerns transacted within a narrow circle, their colonial district; they had been accustomed to have their seats of government near them, to which they might have access, without much inconvenience, when their business should require it — that, at this time, we find, if a county is rather large, the people complain of the inconvenience, and clamor for a division of their county, or for a removal of the place where their courts are held, so as to render it more central and convenient — that, in those States the territory of which is extensive, as soon as the population increases remote from the seat of government, the inhabitants are urgent for a removal of the seat of their government, or to be erected into a new State. As a proof of this, the inhabitants of the western parts of Virginia and North Carolina, of Vermont and the Province of Maine, were instances; even the inhabitants of the western parts of Pennsylvania, who, it is said,

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already seriously look forward to the time when they shall either be erected into a new State, or have their seat of government removed to the Susquehanna. If the inhabitants of the different States consider it as a grievance to attend a county court, or the seat of their own government, when a little inconvenient, can it be supposed they would ever submit to have a national government established, the seat of which would be more than a thousand miles removed from some of them? It was insisted that governments of a republican nature are those best calculated to preserve the freedom and happiness of the citizen — that governments of this kind are only calculated for a territory but small in its extent — that the only method by which an extensive continent, like America, could be connected and united together, consistently with the principles of freedom, must be by having a number of strong and energetic State governments, for securing and protecting the rights of individuals forming those governments, and for regulating all their concerns; and a strong, energetic, federal government over those States, for the protection and preservation, and for regulating the common concerns of the States.

It was further insisted that, even if it were possible to effect a total abolition of the State governments at this time, and to establish one general government over the people of America, it could not long subsist, but in a little time would again be broken into a variety of governments of a smaller extent, similar, in some manner, to the present situation of this continent. The principal difference, in all probability, would be that the governments so established, being affected by some violent convulsion, might not be formed on principles so favorable to liberty as those of our present State governments — that this ought to be an important consideration to such of the States as had excellent governments, which was the case with Maryland, and most others, whatever it might be to persons who, disapproving of their particular State government, would be willing to hazard everything to overturn and destroy it. These reasons, sir, influenced me to vote against two branches in the legislature, and against every part of the system which was repugnant to the principles of a federal government. Nor was there a single argument urged, or reason assigned, which, to my mind, was satisfactory to prove that a good government, on federal principles,

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was unattainable; the whole of their arguments only proving, what none of us controverted — that our federal government, as originally formed, was defective, and wanted amendment.

However, a majority of the convention, hastily and inconsiderately, without condescending to make a fair trial, in their great wisdom decided that a kind of government which a Montesquieu and a Price have declared the best calculated of any to preserve internal liberty, and to enjoy external strength and security, and the only one by which a large continent can be connected and united, consistently with the principles of liberty, was totally impracticable; and they acted accordingly.

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GEORGE MASON

(1725–1792)

GEORGE MASON was the author of the Virginia Bill of Rights, the first document which gave adequate expression to the principles formulated by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence. In the Constitutional Convention of 1787 he presented the plan inspired by Madison, but after the close of the convention he withdrew without signing the Constitution. Returning to Virginia, he joined Patrick Henry in opposing its ratification. He was born in Fairfax County, Virginia, in 1725, and died there in 1792.

«THE NATURAL PROPENSITY OF RULERS TO OPPRESS»

(On the Eighth Section of the Federal Constitution — Delivered in the Virginia Convention, June 14th, 1788)

Mr. Chairman: —

UNLESS there be some restrictions on the power of calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions, we may very easily see that it will produce dreadful oppressions. It is extremely unsafe, without some alterations. It would be to use the militia to a very bad purpose, if any disturbance happened in New Hampshire, to call them from Georgia. This would harass the people so much that they would agree to abolish the use of the militia, and establish a standing army. I conceive the General Government ought to have power over the militia, but it ought to have some bounds. If gentlemen say that the militia of a neighboring State is not sufficient, the Government ought to have power to call forth those of other States, the most convenient and contiguous. But in this case the consent of the State legislatures ought to be had. On real emergencies this consent will never be denied, each State being concerned in the safety of the rest. This power may be restricted without any danger. I wish such an amendment as this — that the militia of any State should not be marched beyond the limits of the adjoining State; and if it be necessary to

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draw them from one end of the continent to the other, I wish such a check as the consent of the State legislature to be provided. Gentlemen may say that this would impede the Government, and that the State legislatures would counteract it by refusing their consent. This argument may be applied to all objections whatsoever. How is this compared to the British Constitution? Though the King may declare war, the Parliament has the means of carrying it on. It is not so here. Congress can do both. Were it not for that check in the British Government, the monarch would be a despot. When a war is necessary for the benefit of the nation, the means of carrying it on are never denied. If any unjust requisition be made on Parliament, it will be, as it ought to be, refused. The same principle ought to be observed in our government. In times of real danger, the States will have the same enthusiasm in aiding the General Government, and granting its demands, which is seen in England when the King is engaged in a war apparently for the interest of the nation. This power is necessary, but we ought to guard against danger. If ever they attempt to harass and abuse the militia, they may abolish them and raise a standing army in their stead. There are various ways of destroying the militia. A standing army may be perpetually established in their stead. I abominate and detest the idea of a government where there is a standing army.

The militia may be here destroyed by that method which has been practiced in other parts of the world before; that is, by rendering them useless — by disarming them. Under various pretenses, Congress may neglect to provide for arming and disciplining the militia; and the State governments cannot do it, for Congress has an executive right to arm them, etc. Here is a line of division drawn between them — the State and general governments. The power of the militia is divided between them. The National Government has an executive right to provide for arming, organizing, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States. The State governments have the power of appointing the officers, and of training the militia, according to the discipline prescribed by Congress, if they should think proper to prescribe any. Should the National Government wish to render the militia useless, they may neglect them, and let them perish, in order to have a pretense of establishing a standing army.

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No man has a greater regard for the military gentlemen than I have. I admire their intrepidity, perseverance, and valor. But when once a standing army is established in any country, the people lose their liberty. When, against a regular disciplined army, yeomanry are the only defense,—yeomanry, unskillful and unarmed,—what chance is there for preserving freedom? Give me leave to recur to the page of history, to warn you of your present danger. Recollect the history of most nations of the world. What havoc, desolation, and destruction have been perpetrated by standing armies! An instance within the memory of some of this house will show us how our militia may be destroyed. Forty years ago, when the resolution of enslaving America was formed in Great Britain, the British Parliament was advised by an artful man, who was governor of Pennsylvania, to disarm the people; that it was the best and most effectual way to enslave them; but that they should not do it openly, but weaken them, and let them sink gradually, by totally disusing and neglecting the militia. This was a most iniquitous project. Why should we not provide against the danger of having our militia, our real and natural strength, destroyed? The General Government ought, at the same time, to have some such power. But we need not give them power to abolish our militia. If they neglect to arm them, and prescribe proper discipline, they will be of no use. I am not acquainted with the military profession. I beg to be excused for any errors I may commit with respect to it. But I stand on the general principles of freedom, whereon I dare to meet any one. I wish that, in case the General Government should neglect to arm and discipline the militia, there should be an express declaration that the State governments might arm and discipline them. With this single exception, I would agree to this part, as I am conscious the Government ought to have the power.

They may effect the destruction of the militia, by rendering the service odious to the people themselves, by harassing them from one end of the continent to the other, and by keeping them under martial law.

The English Parliament never pass a mutiny bill but for one year. This is necessary; for otherwise the soldiers would be on the same footing with the officers, and the army would be dissolved. One mutiny bill has been here in force since the Revolution. I humbly conceive there is extreme danger of establishing

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cruel martial regulations. If, at any time, our rulers should have unjust and iniquitous designs against our liberties, and should wish to establish a standing army, the first attempt would be to render the service and use of militia odious to the people themselves — subjecting them to unnecessary severity of discipline in time of peace, confining them under martial law, and disgusting them so much as to make them cry out: "Give us a standing army!" I would wish to have some check to exclude this danger; as that the militia should never be subject to martial law but in the time of war. I consider and fear the natural propensity of rulers to oppress the people. I wish only to prevent them from doing evil. By these amendments I would give necessary powers, but no unnecessary power. If the clause stand as it is now, it will take from the State legislatures what divine Providence has given to every individual — the means of self-defense. Unless it be moderated in some degree, it will ruin us, and introduce a standing army.

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JEAN BAPTISTE MASSILLON

(1663–1742)

"Other preachers make me pleased with them," said Louis XIV., after listening to Massillon, "but Massillon makes me displeased with myself." That, no doubt, is the highest compliment a King ever paid or could pay to a court preacher, and no doubt Massillon deserved it. If he is not always broad, he is always manly. He did not hesitate to tell the King that the principles of the Christian religion were better known in peasant huts than in palaces.

Massillon was one of the greatest pulpit orators of France. He ranks with Bossuet in his power of expression. Born at Hyères, June 24th, 1663, he was educated for the Church, becoming early in life a member of the "Congregation of the Oratory." In 1696 he began his work in Paris where he became director of the Seminary of St. Magloire. In 1704 he became Court Preacher and in 1717 Bishop of Clermont. He died September 18th, 1742. His works published in 1745 make fifteen volumes.

THE CURSE OF A MALIGNANT TONGUE

(From His Sermon, 'Evil-Speaking')

The tongue, says the Apostle James, is a devouring fire, a world of iniquity, an unruly evil, full of deadly poison. And behold what I would have applied to the tongue of the evil-speaker, had I undertaken to give you a just and natural idea of all the enormity of this vice; I would have said that the tongue of the slanderer is a devouring fire which tarnishes whatever it touches; which exercises its fury on the good grain, equally as on the chaff; on the profane, as on the sacred; which, wherever it passes, leaves only desolation and ruin; digs even into the bowels of the earth, and fixes itself on things the most hidden; turns into vile ashes, what only a moment before had appeared to us so precious and brilliant; acts with more violence and danger than ever, in the time when it was apparently smothered up and almost extinct; which blackens what it cannot

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consume, and sometimes sparkles and delights before it destroys. I would have told you that evil-speaking is an assemblage of iniquity; a secret pride, which discovers to us the mote in our brother's eye, but hides the beam which is in our own; a mean envy, which, hurt at the talents or prosperity of others, makes them the subject of its censures, and studies to dim the splendor of whatever outshines itself; a disguised hatred, which sheds, in its speeches, the hidden venom of the heart; an unworthy duplicity, which praises to the face and tears to pieces behind the back; a shameful levity, which has no command over itself or its words, and often sacrifices both fortune and comfort to the imprudence of an amusing conversation; a deliberate barbarity, which goes to pierce your absent brother; a scandal, where you become a subject of shame and sin to those who listen to you; an injustice, where you ravish from your brother what is dearest to him. I should have said that slander is a restless evil, which disturbs society, spreads dissension through cities and countries, disunites the strictest friendships; is the source of hatred and revenge; fills, wherever it enters, with disturbances and confusion, and everywhere is an enemy to peace, comfort, and Christian good-breeding. Lastly, I should have added that it is an evil full of deadly poison; whatever flows from it is infected, and poisons whatever it approaches; that even its praises are empoisoned, its applauses malicious, its silence criminal, its gestures, motions, and looks, have all their venom, and spread it each in their way.

Behold, what in this discourse it would have been my duty, more at large, to have exposed to your view, had I not proposed only to paint to you the vileness of the vice, which I am now going to combat; but, as I have already said, these are only general invectives, which none apply to themselves. The more odious the vice is represented, the less do you perceive yourselves concerned in it; and though you acknowledge the principle, you make no use of it in the regulation of your manners; because, in these general paintings, we always find features which resemble us not. I wish, therefore, to confine myself at present to the single object of making you feel all the injustice of that description of slander which you think the more innocent; and, lest you should not feel yourself connected with what I shall say, I shall attack it only in the pretexts which you continually employ in its justification.

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Now the first pretext which authorizes in the world almost all the defamations, and is the cause that our conversations are now continual censures upon our brethren, is the pretended insignificancy of the vices we expose to view. We would not wish to tarnish a man of character or ruin his fortune by dishonoring him in the world; to stain the principles of a woman's conduct by entering into the essential points of it; that would be too infamous and mean: but upon a thousand faults which lead our judgment to believe them capable of all the rest; to inspire the minds of those who listen to us with a thousand suspicions which point out what we dare not say; to make satirical remarks which discover a mystery, where no person before had perceived the least intention of concealment; by poisonous interpretations, to give an air of ridicule to manners which had hitherto escaped observation; to let everything, on certain points, be clearly understood, while protesting that they are incapable themselves of cunning or deceit, is what the world makes little scruples of; and though the motives, the circumstances, and the effects of these discourses be highly criminal, yet gayety and liveliness excuse their malignity, to those who listen to us, and even conceal from ourselves their atrocity.

I say, in the first place, the motives. I know that it is, above all, by the innocency of the intention that they pretend to justify themselves; that you continually say that your design is not to tarnish the reputation of your brother, but innocently to divert yourselves with faults which do not dishonor him in the eyes of the world. You, my dear hearer, to divert yourself with his faults! But what is that cruel pleasure which carries sorrow and bitterness to the heart of your brother? Where is the innocency of an amusement whose source springs from vices which ought to inspire you with compassion and grief? If Jesus Christ forbids us in the Gospel to invigorate the languors of conversation by idle words, shall it be more permitted to you to enliven it by derisions and censures? If the law curses him who uncovers the nakedness of his relations, shall you who add raillery and insult to the discovery be more protected from that malediction? If whoever calls his brother fool be worthy, according to Jesus Christ, of eternal fire, shall he who renders him the contempt and laughing-stock of the profane assembly escape the same punishment? You, to amuse yourself with his faults? But does charity delight in evil? Is that rejoicing in the Lord, as commanded by the

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apostle? If you love your brother as yourself, can you delight in what afflicts him? Ah! the Church formerly held in horror the exhibition of gladiators, and denied that believers, brought up in the tenderness and benignity of Jesus Christ could innocently feast their eyes with the blood and death of these unfortunate slaves, or form a harmless recreation of so inhuman a pleasure. But you renew more detestable shows to enliven your languor; you bring upon the stage not infamous wretches devoted to death, but members of Jesus Christ, your brethren; and there you entertain the spectators with wounds which you inflict on persons rendered sacred by baptism.

Is it then necessary that your brother should suffer, to amuse you? Can you find no delight in your conversations, unless his blood, as I may say, is furnished towards your iniquitous pleasures? Edify each other, says St. Paul, by words of peace and charity; relate the wonders of God towards the just, the history of his mercies to sinners; recall the virtues of those who, with the sign of faith, have preceded us; make an agreeable relaxation to yourselves, in reciting the pious examples of your brethren with whom you live; with a religious joy, speak of the victories of faith, of the aggrandizement of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, of the establishment of the truth and the extinction of error, of the favors which Jesus Christ bestows on his Church, by raising up in it faithful pastors, enlightened members, and religious princes; animate yourselves to virtue, by contemplating the little solidity of the world, the emptiness of pleasures, and the unhappiness of sinners, who yield themselves up to their unruly passions. Are these grand objects not worthy the delight of Christians? It was thus, however, that the first believers rejoiced in the Lord, and, from the sweets of their conversations, formed one of the most holy consolations to their temporal calamities. It is the heart, my brethren, which decides upon our pleasures: a corrupted heart feels no delight but in what recalls to him the image of his vices; innocent delights are only suitable to virtue.

In effect, you excuse the malignity of your censures by the innocency of your intentions. But fathom the secret of your heart: Whence comes it that your sarcasms are always pointed to such an individual, and that you never amuse yourself with more wit, or more agreeably, than in recalling his faults? May it not proceed from a secret jealousy? Do not his talents, for-

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tune, credit, station, or character, hurt you more than his faults? Would you find him so fit a subject for censure, had he fewer of those qualities which exalt him above you? Would you experience such pleasure in exposing his foibles, did not the world find qualities in him both valuable and praiseworthy? Would Saul have so often repeated with such pleasure that David was only the son of Jesse, had he not considered him as a rival, more deserving than himself of the empire? Whence comes it that the faults of all others find you more indulgent? That elsewhere you excuse everything, but here every circumstance comes empoisoned from your mouth? Go to the source, and examine if it is not some secret root of bitterness in your heart. And can you pretend to justify, by the innocency of the intention, discourses which flow from so corrupted a principle? You maintain that it is neither from hatred nor jealousy against your brother: I wish to believe it; but in your sarcasms may there not be motives, perhaps, still more shameful and mean? Is it not your wish to render yourself agreeable, by turning your brother into an object of contempt and ridicule? Do you not sacrifice his character to your fortune? Courts are always so filled with these adulatory and sordidly interested satires on each other! The great are to be pitied whenever they yield themselves up to unwarrantable aversions. Vices are soon found out, even in that virtue itself which displeases them.

But, after all, you do not feel yourselves guilty, you say, of all these vile motives; and that it is merely through indiscretion and levity of speech, if it sometimes happens that you defame your brethren. But is it by that you can suppose yourself more innocent? Levity and indiscretion; that vice so unworthy of the gravity of a Christian, so distant from the seriousness and solidity of faith, and so often condemned in the Gospel, can it justify another vice? What matters it to the brother whom you stab whether it be done through indiscretion or malice? Does an arrow, unwittingly drawn, make a less dangerous or slighter wound than if sent on purpose? Is the deadly blow which you give to your brother more slight because it was lanced through imprudence and levity? And what signifies the innocency of the intention when the action is a crime? But, besides, is there no criminality in indiscretion with regard to the reputation of your brethren? In any case whatever can more circumspection and prudence be required? Are not all the duties of Christianity

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comprised in that of charity? Does not all religion, as I may say, consist in that? And to be incapable of attention and care, in a point so highly essential, is it not considering, as it were, all the rest as a sport? Ah! it is here he ought to put a guard of circumspection on his tongue, weigh every word, put them together in his heart, says the sage Ecclesiasticus, and let them ripen in his mouth. Do any of these inconsiderate speeches ever escape you against yourself? Do you ever fail in attention to what interests your honor or glory? What indefatigable cares! what exertions and industry, to make them prosper! To what lengths we see you go, to increase your interest or to improve your fortune! If it ever happens that you take blame to yourself, it is always under circumstances which tend to your praise. You censure in yourself only faults which do you honor; and, in confessing your vices, you wish only to recapitulate your virtues. Self-love connects everything with yourself. Love your brother as you love yourself, and everything will recall you to him; you will be incapable of indiscretion where his interest is concerned, and will no longer need our instructions in respect to what you owe to his character and glory.

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COTTON MATHER

(1663–1728)

COTTON MATHER was the first pulpit orator of great intellectual force born and educated in America. He published during his life three hundred and eighty-two «works,» ranging in size and importance from a controversial pamphlet up to the seven folio volumes of his 'Magnalia Christi Americana,' or 'Ecclesiastical History of New England.' He was born in Boston, February 12th, 1663, and educated at Harvard College. After graduation he served as colleague to his father, Increase Mather, pastor of the North Church in Boston. During the excitement over witchcraft, Cotton Mather, whose 'Wonders of the Invisible World' will always retain its place in the regard of students of the curious in literature, so identified himself with the prosecution, that his reputation as a witchfinder has almost obscured what might otherwise have been his great celebrity as a preacher and writer. His critics declare that his style has «occasional puerilities,» but he was unquestionably an orator of great power with a keen sympathy for the musical values of words. He died February 13th, 1728.

AT THE SOUND OF THE TRUMPET

(From a Sermon on the Text «Blessed is the people that know the joyful sound.»—Psalm lxxxix. 15)

THERE was a direction given and taken in the old Church of Israel, «Make thee two trumpets of silver, that thou mayst use them for the calling of the assembly.» By the sound of such silver trumpets, the people of God were called unto the employments and enjoyments of their sacred solemnities. And was this the joyful sound, for which the people that heard it are now pronounced a blessed people? I deny not the reference hereunto, which may be here supposed. But then we will suppose a further intent of the Holy Spirit, by whom the Psalm was dictated. He may intend the joyful sound, which in the

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Gospel and the institutions thereof his people are blessed withal. And, accordingly, it will be no wrong unto the text, if we put it unto the use of supporting this doctrine.

Glorious is the blessedness of the people who truly know the joyful sound, which in and with the glorious Gospel of the blessed God, and the institutions thereof, arrives unto us.

In the Gospel, and the ordinances of it, there is a joyful sound, which we are made partakers of. A true knowledge of this joyful sound will render the people that have it a blessed people. . . .

In order to blessedness, it is requisite, not only that we have, but also that we know the joyful sound which is brought unto us in the Gospel, and in the ordinances of it. Indeed, in a larger sense, to have the joyful sound is to know it. A people that have the Gospel, and know the joyful sound, in the external enjoyment of it, these do enjoy a rich favor of God. The places which enjoy the Scriptures and have the Church state, with the faith and order of the Gospel, are therein highly favored of the Lord.

Gideon's fleece, wet with the dews of heaven, when the ground all about is dry, has a singular token for good upon it. The sound of the trumpets which proclaim the kingdom of God is heard in some happy lands, while others are left unacquainted with it. Even so, righteous Father, because it pleases thee! And so far they have a singular happiness. It may be said unto them: "Blessed are your eyes, for they see, and your ears, for they hear." Such a people are in some degree the favorites of heaven. They have the kingdom in some essay of it among them. Where the trumpets of the Gospel are sounding, we may say: "The Lord is near." Yea, the name of that city, that country, is Jehovah Shammah, "the Lord is there." A people who so far know the joyful sound are after a peculiar manner known by the King of Heaven. He may say to such: "You only have I known." But alas, many who so far know the joyful sound may, after all, come to "lie down in sorrow." They that are so far lifted up to heaven may be thrown down to hell after all. In such a knowledge of the joyful sound as will render a people a blessed people, there is more implied than a mere hearing of it. To know the joyful sound, as it should be known, is to know the meaning of it, the value of it, the credit of it, and the power of it. . . .

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O blessed people, who so know the joyful sound! It is one of the notes in the silver trumpets. If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them. And one of the Divine heralds that carried the silver trumpets through the world has assured us, "the doer of the word, this man shall be blessed in his deed."

The blessedness of the people who thus know this joyful sound is a very glorious blessedness.

A most considerable article of the blessedness attending a people who hear the silver trumpets of the Gospel, and pay due regard unto them, is this: they shall walk, O Lord, in the light of thy countenance. A gracious preference of the blessed God among a people accompanies the joyful sound. The silver trumpets are heard nowhere but where the king of heaven keeps his court. There are those whose office it is to blow in the silver trumpets. Unto those our Savior has engaged himself: "Lo, I am with you always." Will health and wealth and rest among a people make a blessed people? 'Tis commonly thought so. But what will God have among a people? Oh, blessed that people whose god is the Lord, and who have a gracious preference of God among them. Even such are the people who know the joyful sound! Where the Gospel, with the ordinances of it are well settled, maintained, respected, and the silver trumpets well sounded among a people, it may be said, as in Numbers xxiii. 21: "The Lord their God is with them, and the shout of a king is among them." In one word the ordinances of the Gospel furnish us with opportunities for communion with God. "In them I will commune with you," saith the Lord. We may herein draw near to God, God will herein draw near to us. The voice of the silver trumpets is, draw near to God, and he will draw near to you! Can any blessedness be more glorious?

But more particularly, first, in the joyful sound, we have the guide to blessedness. The silver trumpets put us into the way, unto the "rest that remaineth for the people of God." We are ignorant of the way to blessedness; and the way of peace we have not known. But where the trumpets of the Gospel sound, there is a fulfillment of that word: "Thine ears shall hear a word behind thee, saying: This is the way, walk in it." They reveal to us what we are to think, what we are to do, what we are to wish for; they lead us in the way wherein we should go.

Second, in the joyful sound we have the cause of blessedness. The silver trumpets are like the golden pipes in Zecha-

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riah, which convey the golden oil of grace into the souls of men. 'Tis by them that God fetches men out of the graves, in which they lie sinfully and woefully putrefying; and infuses a principle of piety into them; and inclines them to the things that are holy, and just, and good. That effectual calling which brings men into blessedness, 'tis in the trumpets of the Gospel that the spirit of God gives it unto his chosen ones; men hear the word of the Gospel and believe.

But let us now make some improvements of these instructions.

I. Blessed the people who know the joyful sound; then wretched the people, forlorn the people, undone the people, who are strangers to the joyful sound. Oh! the pity that is due unto them!

The Jewish nation have now lost their silver trumpets for these many ages. And in their long dispersion how pathetical is their cry unto us! Have pity on me, O ye, my friends, have pity on me, for the hand of the Lord hath touched me. Yea, and how many Protestant Churches have, in our days, had their silver trumpets forced from them; and instead thereof heard the "enemies roaring in the midst of the congregations"! Yea, how many nations are there that never heard the joyful sound! That lie buried in Paganizing or in Mohammedan infidelity! And is it not a lamentable thing that so near unto ourselves there should be so many ungospelized plantations! Our pity for those ought certainly to put us upon prayer for them; upon study for them. Oh! what shall be done for them who lie in wickedness, and have this epitaph upon them: If our Gospel be hid, it is hid unto them that be lost.

II. Blessed the people who know the joyful sound; then we are a blessed people; and at the same time we are to be taught how to continue so. My brethren, we have the joyful sound at such a rate, that it may almost be said of us as in Deuteronomy: "What nation is there who hath God so nigh unto them?" For the silver trumpets to be heard sounding as they are in the American regions — verily 'tis the Lord's doings, and marvelous in our eyes! May we ever account these our precious and our pleasant things!

Oh! how thankful ought we to be unto our God for his Gospel and the ordinances of it! When the silver trumpets were of

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old going to sound, the angels of God were heard making those acclamations thereupon, "Glory to God in the highest." And shall not we give glory to the most High God on the occasion? O Gospelized people, God hath showed his statutes and his judgments unto us. Praise ye the Lord. When the trumpets of God are sounding, shall not our trumpets be sounding too? His trumpets are in his ordinances; our trumpets are in our thanksgivings, we are so called upon: "With trumpets make a joyful noise before the Lord."

Such a blessed people should be a thankful people. But, verily, our God will not look on us as a thankful people, if we are not also a fruitful people. A barren people; oh! what a fearful doom are they threatened with! what a fearful fate are they warned of! "It is nigh unto cursing." Sirs, be fruitful in every good work; fruitful and always abounding in the work of the Lord.

In the midst of these cares you will use all due means, that you may see no intermission of the joyful sound. You will provide seasonably for the succession that shall be needful, by all due cares about the means of education in our land, without which the land becomes a Scythian desert. But when you make this provision, oh! look up to the gracious Lord, that you may be blessed with truly silver trumpets; never have any but men of worth; such as will be of good metal; and such as in the cause of God will always "lift up their voice like a trumpet."

But this is that which is most of all to be urged upon you: Hearken to the joyful sound. Hearken to it, and comply with it. The joyful sound is that: "Let the wicked forsake his way, and return to the Lord, who will have mercy on him." Hearken to it, and with echoes of devotion reply: "My God, I return unto thee!" The joyful sound is that: "Come to me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." Hearken to it, and with echoes of devotion reply: "My Savior, I come unto thee!" That grace of God which bringeth salvation has the joyful sound of the silver trumpet in it. Now, your echoes to the trumpet must be these: Lord, I desire, I resolve to lead a godly, a sober, a righteous life before thee!

My friends, the last trumpet that is to sound at the appearance of the glorious Lord, who is to judge the world, will ere long summon you to give an account of your compliance with the

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silver trumpets of God. You that now hear the joyful sound of these trumpets must ere long hear the awful sound of that amazing trumpet. A loud and a shrill trumpet will sound: "Arise, ye dead, and come to judgment!" Oh! may our compliance with the joyful sound of the silver trumpets now be such that we may find mercy in that day. So comply with it now that the joyful sound of a "Come, ye blessed," may be heard by you in the day when "the times of refreshing shall come from the presence of the Lord."

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GIUSEPPE MAZZINI

(1805–1872)

MAZZINI'S fame as an orator can safely rest on his address in memory of the martyrs of Cosenza, delivered at Milan in 1848. «We are here below,» he says, «to labor fraternally, to build up the unity of the human family so that the day may come when it shall represent a single sheepfold with a single shepherd,—the spirit of God, the law. To aid our search after truth, God has given us tradition and the voice of our own conscience. Wherever they are opposed is error. To attain harmony and consistence between the conscience of the individual and the conscience of humanity, no sacrifice is too great. The family, the city, the fatherland, and humanity are but different spheres in which to exercise our activity and our power of sacrifice towards this great aim. God watches from above the inevitable progress of humanity, and from time to time he raises up the great in genius, in love, in thought, or in action, as priests of his truth and guides to the multitude on their way.»

Mazzini fully illustrated the sublimity of this idea in his life. From his birth in 1805 to his death in 1872, Italy and Europe were moved by the same idea which controlled him and made him one of the great forces of the century,—the idea «of the inevitable progress of humanity.» Soon after his graduation from the University of Genoa in 1826, he joined the Carbonari, and in 1832 founded «Young Italy,» a revolutionary society whose object was to unify Italy under a Republic. Obliged to live in exile for many years, he returned to Italy in 1848 and headed the revolutionary movement which inaugurated the «Republic of Rome.» After its overthrow in 1849, he again went into exile, and during the next ten years worked incessantly to unify Italy. No doubt he did more than any one else to make this unification possible, but he was greatly disappointed that it came under a monarchy instead of a Republic, and rather than take the oath of allegiance to Victor Emmanuel he remained in exile. In 1870 he took part in the insurrection at Palermo and was among the number of those captured by the Government and released under a general amnesty. His essays and prose writings have been collected in several volumes. Most of them illustrate the same lofty style and are animated by the same sublime spirit he shows in the address, 'To the Young Men of Italy.'

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TO THE YOUNG MEN OF ITALY

(Delivered at Milan in Memory of the Martyrs of Cosenza, July 25th, 1848)

WHEN I was commissioned by you, young men, to proffer in this temple a few words sacred to the memory of the brothers Bandiera and their fellow-martyrs at Cosenza, I thought that some of those who heard me might exclaim with noble indignation: "Wherefore lament over the dead? The martyrs of liberty are only worthily honored by winning the battle they have begun; Cosenza, the land where they fell, is enslaved; Venice, the city of their birth, is begirt by foreign foes. Let us emancipate them, and until that moment let no words pass our lips save words of war."

But another thought arose: "Why have we not conquered? Why is it that, while we are fighting for independence in the north of Italy, liberty is perishing in the south? Why is it that a war, which should have sprung to the Alps with the bound of a lion, has dragged itself along for four months, with the slow uncertain motion of the scorpion surrounded by a circle of fire? How has the rapid and powerful intuition of a people newly arisen to life been converted into the weary helpless effort of the sick man turning from side to side? Ah! had we all arisen in the sanctity of the idea for which our martyrs died; had the holy standard of their faith preceded our youth to battle; had we reached that unity of life which was in them so powerful, and made of our every action a thought, and of our every thought an action; had we devoutly gathered up their last words in our hearts, and learned from them that Liberty and Independence are one, that God and the People, the Fatherland and Humanity, are the two inseparable terms of the device of every people striving to become a nation; that Italy can have no true life till she be One, holy in the equality and love of all her children, great in the worship of eternal truth, and consecrated to a lofty mission, a moral priesthood among the peoples of Europe,—we should now have had, not war, but victory; Cosenza would not be compelled to venerate the memory of her martyrs in secret, nor Venice be restrained from honoring them with a monument; and we, gathered here together, might gladly invoke their sacred names, without uncertainty as to our future destiny, or a cloud of sadness on our brows, and say to those precursor

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souls: "Rejoice! for your spirit is incarnate in your brethren, and they are worthy of you."

The idea which they worshiped, young men, does not as yet shine forth in its full purity and integrity upon your banner. The sublime program which they, dying, bequeathed to the rising Italian generation, is yours; but mutilated, broken up into fragments by the false doctrines, which, elsewhere overthrown, have taken refuge amongst us. I look around, and I see the struggles of desperate populations, an alternation of generous rage and of unworthy repose; of shouts for freedom and of formulæ of servitude, throughout all parts of our Peninsula; but the soul of the country, where is it? What unity is there in this unequal and manifold movement — where is the Word that should dominate the hundred diverse and opposing counsels which mislead or seduce the multitude? I hear phrases usurping the national omnipotence — "The Italy of the North — the league of the States — Federative compacts between Princes," but Italy, where is it? Where is the common country, the country which the Bandiera hailed as thrice Initiatrix of a new era of European civilization?

Intoxicated with our first victories, improvident for the future, we forgot the idea revealed by God to those who suffered; and God has punished our forgetfulness by deferring our triumph. The Italian movement, my countrymen, is, by decree of Providence, that of Europe. We arise to give a pledge of moral progress to the European world. But neither political fictions, nor dynastic aggrandizements, nor theories of expediency, can transform or renovate the life of the peoples. Humanity lives and moves through faith; great principles are the guiding stars that lead Europe towards the future. Let us turn to the graves of our martyrs, and ask inspiration of those who died for us all, and we shall find the secret of victory in the adoration of a faith. The angel of martyrdom and the angel of victory are brothers; but the one looks up to heaven, and the other looks down to earth; and it is when, from epoch to epoch, their glance meets between earth and heaven, that creation is embellished with a new life, and a people arises from the cradle or the tomb, evangelist or prophet.

I will sum up for you in a few words this faith of our martyrs; their external life is known to you all; it is now a matter of history, and I need not recall it to you.

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The faith of the brothers Bandiera, which was and is our own, was based upon a few simple uncontrovertible truths, which few, indeed, venture to declare false, but which are nevertheless forgotten or betrayed by most:—

God and the People.

God at the summit of the social edifice; the people, the universality of our brethren, at the base. God, the Father and Educator; the people, the progressive interpreter of his law.

No true society can exist without a common belief and a common aim. Religion declares the belief and the aim. Politics regulate society in the practical realization of that belief, and prepare the means of attaining that aim. Religion represents the principle, politics the application. There is but one sun in heaven for all the earth. There is one law for all those who people the earth. It is alike the law of the human being and of collective humanity. We are placed here below, not for the capricious exercise of our own individual faculties,—our faculties and liberty are the means, not the end,—not to work out our own happiness upon earth; happiness can only be reached elsewhere, and there God works for us; but to consecrate our existence to the discovery of a portion of the Divine law; to practice it as far as our individual circumstances and powers allow, and to diffuse the knowledge and love of it among our brethren.

We are here below to labor fraternally to build up the unity of the human family, so that the day may come when it shall represent a single sheepfold with a single shepherd,—the spirit of God, the Law.

To aid our search after truth, God has given to us tradition and the voice of our own conscience. Wherever they are opposed, is error. To attain harmony and consistence between the conscience of the individual and the conscience of humanity, no sacrifice is too great. The family, the city, the fatherland, and humanity are but different spheres in which to exercise our activity and our power of sacrifice towards this great aim. God watches from above the inevitable progress of humanity, and from time to time he raises up the great in genius, in love, in thought, or in action, as priests of his truth, and guides to the multitude on their way.

These principles,—indicated in their letters, in their proclamations, and in their conversation,—with a profound sense of the mission intrusted by God to the individual and to humanity,

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were to Attilio and Emilio Bandiera, and their fellow-martyrs, the guide and comfort of a weary life; and, when men and circumstances had alike betrayed them, these principles sustained them in death, in religious serenity and calm certainty of the realization of their immortal hopes for the future of Italy. The immense energy of their souls arose from the intense love which informed their faith. And could they now arise from the grave and speak to you, they would, believe me, address you, though with a power very different from that which is given to me, in counsel not unlike this which I now offer to you.

Love! love is the flight of the soul towards God; towards the great, the sublime, and the beautiful, which are the shadow of God upon earth. Love your family, the partner of your life, those around you ready to share your joys and sorrows; love the dead who were dear to you and to whom you were dear. But let your love be the love taught you by Dante and by us,—the love of souls that aspire together; do not grovel on the earth in search of a felicity which it is not the destiny of the creature to reach here below; do not yield to a delusion which inevitably would degrade you into egotism. To love is to give and take a promise for the future. God has given us love, that the weary soul may give and receive support upon the way of life. It is a flower springing up on the path of duty; but it cannot change its course. Purify, strengthen, and improve yourselves by loving. Act always,—even at the price of increasing her earthly trials,—so that the sister soul united to your own may never need, here or elsewhere, to blush through you or for you. The time will come when, from the height of a new life, embracing the whole past and comprehending its secret, you will smile together at the sorrows you have endured, the trials you have overcome.

Love your country. Your country is the land where your parents sleep, where is spoken that language in which the chosen of your heart blushing whispered the first word of love; it is the home that God has given you, that by striving to perfect yourselves therein, you may prepare to ascend to him. It is your name, your glory, your sign among the people. Give to it your thoughts, your counsels, your blood. Raise it up, great and beautiful as it was foretold by our great men, and see that you leave it uncontaminated by any trace of falsehood or of servitude; unprofaned by dismemberment. Let it be one, as the thought of God. You are twenty-five millions of men, endowed with active, splendid facul-

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ties; possessing a tradltion of glory the envy of the nations of Europe. An immense future is before you; you lift your eyes to the loveliest heaven, and around you smiles the loveliest land in Europe; you are encircled by the Alps and the sea, boundaries traced out by the finger of God for a people of giants — you are bound to be such, or nothing. Let not a man of that twenty-five millions remain excluded from the fraternal bond destined to join you together; let not a glance be raised to that heaven which is not the glance of a free man. Let Rome be the ark of your redemption, the temple of your nation. Has she not twice been the temple of the destinies of Europe? In Rome two extinct worlds, the Pagan and the Papal, are superposed like the double jewels of a diadem; draw from these a third world greater than the two. From Rome, the holy city, the city of love (Amor) the purest and wisest among you, elected by the vote and fortified by the inspiration of a whole people, shall dictate the Pact that shall make us one, and represent us in the future alliance of the peoples. Until then you will either have no country, or have her contaminated and profaned.

Love humanity. You can only ascertain your own mission from the aim set by God before humanity at large. God has given you your country as cradle, and humanity as mother; you cannot rightly love your brethren of the cradle if you love not the common mother. Beyond the Alps, beyond the sea, are other peoples now fighting or preparing to fight the holy fight of independence, of nationality, of liberty; other peoples striving by different routes to reach the same goal,—improvement, association, and the foundation of an authority which shall put an end to moral anarchy and re-link earth to heaven; an authority which mankind may love and obey without remorse or shame. Unite with them; they will unite with you. Do not invoke their aid where your single arm will suffice to conquer; but say to them that the hour will shortly sound for a terrible struggle between right and blind force, and that in that hour you will ever be found with those who have raised the same banner as yourselves.

And love, young men, love and venerate the ideal. The ideal is the word of God. High above every country, high above humanity, is the country of the spirit, the city of the soul, in which all are brethren who believe in the inviolability of thought and in the dignity of our immortal soul; and the baptism of this

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fraternity is martyrdom. From that high sphere spring the principles which alone can redeem the peoples. Arise for the sake of these, and not from impatience of suffering or dread of evil. Anger, pride, ambition, and the desire of material prosperity, are arms common alike to the peoples and their oppressors, and even should you conquer with these to-day, you would fall again to-morrow; but principles belong to the peoples alone, and their oppressors can find no arms to oppose them. Adore enthusiasm, the dreams of the virgin soul, and the visions of early youth, for they are a perfume of paradise which the soul retains in issuing from the hands of its Creator. Respect above all things your conscience; have upon your lips the truth implanted by God in your hearts, and, while laboring in harmony, even with those who differ from you, in all that tends to the emancipation of our soil, yet ever bear your own banner erect and boldly promulgate your own faith.

Such words, young men, would the martyrs of Cosenza have spoken, had they been living amongst you; and here, where it may be that, invoked by our love, their holy spirits hover near us, I call upon you to gather them up in your hearts and to make of them a treasure amid the storms that yet threaten you; storms which, with the name of our martyrs on your lips and their faith in your hearts, you will overcome.

God be with you, and bless Italy!

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THOMAS FRANCIS MEAGHER

(1823–1867)

THOMAS FRANCIS MEAGHER was born at Waterford, Ireland, August 3d, 1823. After making an enduring reputation as an orator in the cause of Irish independence, he was arrested in 1848 by the English Government and sent as a convict to Van Diemen's Land (July 1849). Escaping in 1852, he settled in New York city where he practiced law until 1861, when he organized the Irish brigade for the Federal army. He was made Brigadier-General and fought in many of the severest battles of the war, among others those of the Second Bull Run, Fredericksburg, and Chancellorsville. In 1866 he was made Governor of Montana, where he died July 1st, 1867.

THE WITHERING INFLUENCE OF PROVINCIAL SUBJECTION

(Delivered at Conciliation Hall, Dublin, July 28th, 1846)

My Lord Mayor:—

I WILL commence as Mr. Mitchell concluded, with an allusion to the Whigs. I fully concur with my friend that the most comprehensive measures which the Whig minister may propose will fail to lift this country up to that position which she has the right to occupy and the power to maintain. A Whig minister, I admit, may improve the province—he will not restore the nation. Franchises, tenant compensation bills, liberal appointments may ameliorate, they will not exalt; they may meet the necessities, they will not call forth the abilities of the country. The errors of the past may be repaired,—the hopes of the future will not be fulfilled. With a vote in one pocket, a lease in the other, and "full justice" before him at the petty sessions, in the shape of a "restored magistrate," the humblest peasant may be told that he is free; trust me, my lord, he will not have the character of a freeman, his spirit to dare, his energy to act. From the stateliest mansion down to the poorest cottage in the land, the inactivity, the meanness, the debasement, which provincialism engenders, will be perceptible.

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These are not the crude sentiments of youth, though the mere commercial politician who has deduced his ideas of self-government from the table of imports and exports may satirize them as such. Age has uttered them, my lord, and the experience of eight years has preached them to the people.

A few weeks since, and there stood up in the court of Queen's Bench an old and venerable man to teach the country the lessons he had learned in his youth, beneath the portico of the Irish Senate House, and which during a long life he had treasured in his heart as the costliest legacy a true citizen could bequeath to the land that gave him birth.

What said this aged orator?

"National independence does not necessarily lead to national virtue and happiness; but reason and experience demonstrate that public spirit and general happiness are looked for in vain under the withering influence of provincial subjection. The very consciousness of being dependent on another power for advancement in the scale of national being weighs down the spirit of a people, manacles the efforts of genius, depresses the energies of virtue, blunts the sense of common glory and common good, and produces an insulated selfishness of character, the surest mark of debasement in the individual, and mortality in the State."

My lord, it was once said by an eminent citizen of Rome, the elder Pliny, that "we owe our youth and manhood to our country, but our declining age to ourselves." This may have been the maxim of the Roman,—it is not the maxim of the Irish patriot. One might have thought that the anxieties, the labors, the vicissitudes of a long career had dimmed the fire which burned in the heart of the illustrious Roman whose words I have cited; but now, almost from the shadow of death, he comes forth with the vigor of youth and the authority of age, to serve the country in the defense of which he once bore arms, by an example, my lord, that must shame the coward, rouse the sluggard, and stimulate the bold. These sentiments have sunk deep into the public mind; they are recited as the national creed. Whilst these sentiments inspire the people, I have no fear for the national cause. I do not dread the venal influence of the Whigs.

Inspired by such sentiments, the people of this country will look beyond the mere redress of existing wrong and strive for the attainment of future power.

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A good government may, indeed, redress the grievances of an injured people, but a strong people alone can build up a great nation. To be strong, a people must be self-reliant, self-ruled, self-sustained. The dependence of one people upon another, even for the benefits of legislation, is the deepest source of national weakness. By an unnatural law, it exempts a people from their just duties — their just responsibilities. When you exempt a people from these duties, from these responsibilities, you generate in them a distrust in their own powers. Thus you enervate, if you do not utterly destroy that spirit which a sense of these responsibilities is sure to inspire, and which the fulfillment of these duties never fails to invigorate. Where this spirit does not actuate, the country may be tranquil,— it will not be prosperous. It may exist, it will not thrive. It may hold together, it will not advance. Peace it may enjoy,— for peace and freedom are compatible. But, my lord, it will neither accumulate wealth nor win a character; it will neither benefit mankind by the enterprise of its merchants, nor instruct mankind by the example of its statesmen.

I make these observations, for it is the custom of some moderate politicians to say that when the Whigs have accomplished the "pacification" of the country, there will be little or no necessity for repeal. My lord, there is something else, there is everything else to be done when the work of "pacification" has been accomplished — and here it is hardly necessary to observe that the prosperity of a country is perhaps the sole guarantee for its tranquillity, and that the more universal the prosperity, the more permanent will be the repose.

But the Whigs will enrich as well as pacify. Grant it, my lord. Then do I conceive that the necessity for repeal will augment. Great interests demand great safeguards. The prosperity of a nation requires due protection of a senate. Hereafter a national senate may require the protection of a national army.

So much for the extraordinary affluence with which we are threatened, and which, it is said by gentlemen on the opposite shore of the Irish Sea, will crush this Association and bury the enthusiasts who clamor for Irish nationality in a sepulchre of gold. This prediction, however, is feebly sustained by the ministerial program that has lately appeared.

On the evening of the 16th, the Whig premier, in answer to a question that was put to him by the Member for Finsbury [Mr.

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Duncombe], is reported to have made this consolatory announcement:—

"We consider that the social grievances of Ireland are those which are most prominent, and to which it is most likely to be in our power to afford, not a complete and immediate remedy, but some remedy, some kind of improvement, so that some kind of hope may be entertained that, some ten or twelve years hence, the country will, by the measures we undertake, be in a far better state with respect to the frightful destitution and misery which now prevail in that country. We have that practical object in view."

After that most consolatory announcement, my lord, let those who have the patience of Job and the poverty of Lazarus continue, in good faith, "to wait on Providence and the Whigs"; continue to entertain "some kind of hope," that if not "a complete and immediate remedy," at least "some remedy," "some improvement," will place this country "in a far better state" than it is at present, "some ten or twelve years hence." After that let those who prefer the periodical boons of a Whig government to that which would be the abiding blessing of an Irish Parliament; let those who deny to Ireland what they assert for Poland; let those who would inflict, as Henry Grattan said, "an eternal disability upon this country," to which Providence has assigned the largest facilities for power; let those who would ratify the "base swap," as Mr. Sheil once stigmatized the Act of Union, and who would stamp perfection upon that deed of perfidy,—let such men

"Plod, led on in sluggish misery,
Rotten from sire to son, from age to age,
Proud of their trampled nature."

But we, my lord, who are assembled in this hall, and in whose hearts the Union has not bred the slave's disease—we who have not been imperialized—we are here with the hope to undo that work which forty-six years ago dishonored the ancient peerage and subjugated the people of our country.

My lord, to assist the people of Ireland to undo that work I came to this hall. I came here to repeal the Act of Union—I came here for nothing else. Upon every other question I feel myself at perfect liberty to differ from each and every one of you. Upon questions of finance—questions of a religious character—questions of an educational character—questions of municipal policy—questions that may arise from the proceedings of

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the legislature — upon all these questions I feel myself at perfect liberty to differ from each and every one of you. Yet more, my lord; I maintain that it is my right to express my opinion upon each of these questions, if necessary. The right of free discussion I have here upheld. In the exercise of that right, I have differed sometimes from the leader of this Association, and would do so again. That right I will not abandon — I shall maintain it to the last.

In doing so, let me not be told that I seek to undermine the influence of the leader of the Association and am insensible to his services. My lord, I am grateful for his services, and will uphold his just influence.

This is the first time I have spoken in these terms of that illustrious Irishman in this hall. I did not do so before — I felt it was unnecessary. I hate unnecessary praise — I scorn to receive it — I scorn ever to bestow it.

No, my lord, I am not ungrateful to the man who struck the fetters off my arms, whilst I was yet a child, and by whose influence my father — the first Catholic who did so for two hundred years — sat for the last two years in the civic chair of an ancient city. But, my lord, the same God who gave to that great man the power to strike down an odious ascendancy in this country, and enabled him to institute in this land the glorious law of religious equality — the same God gave to me a mind that is my own — a mind that has not been mortgaged to the opinions of any man or any set of men — a mind that I was to use and not surrender.

My lord, in the exercise of that right, which I have here endeavored to uphold — a right which this Association should preserve inviolate, if it desire not to become a despotism — in the exercise of that right, I have differed from Mr. O'Connell on previous occasions, and differ from him now. I do not agree with him in the opinion he entertains of my friend, Charles Gavan Duffy — that man whom I am proud, indeed, to call my friend, though he is a "convicted conspirator" and suffered for you in Richmond prison. I do not think he is a "maligner." I do not think he has lost, or deserves to lose, the public favor.

I have no more connection with the Nation than I have with the Times. I therefore feel no delicacy on appearing here this day in defense of its principles, with which I avow myself identified.

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My lord, it is to me a source of true delight and honest pride to speak this day in defense of that great journal. I do not fear to assume the position; exalted though it be, it is easy to maintain it. The character of that journal is above reproach. The ability that sustains it has won a European fame. The genius of which it is the offspring, the truth of which it is the oracle, have been recognized, my lord, by friends and foes. I care not how it may be assailed — I care not howsoever great may be the talent, howsoever high may be the position, of those who now consider it their duty to impeach its writings — I do think it has won too splendid a reputation to lose the influence it has acquired. The people whose enthusiasm has been kindled by the impetuous fire of its verse, and whose sentiments have been ennobled by the earnest purity of its teachings, will not ratify the censure that has been pronounced upon it in this hall. Truth will have its day of triumph as well as its day of trial; and I foresee that the fearless patriotism, which, in those pages, has braved the prejudices of the day, to enunciate grand truths, will triumph in the end.

My lord, such do I believe to be the character, such do I anticipate will be the fate of the principles that are now impeached.

This brings me to what may be called the "question of the day."

Before I enter upon that question, however, I will allude to one observation which fell from the honorable Member for Kilkenny, and which may be said to refer to those who expressed an opinion that has been construed into a declaration of war.

The honorable gentleman said — in reference, I presume, to those who dissented from the resolutions of Monday — that those who were loudest in their declarations of war were usually the most backward in acting up to those declarations. My lord, I do not find fault with the honorable gentleman for giving expression to a very ordinary saying, but this I will state, that I did not volunteer the opinion he condemns — to the declaration of that opinion I was forced. You left me no alternative — I should compromise my opinion, or avow it. To be honest, I avowed it. I did not do so to brag, as they say; we have had too much of that "bragging" in Ireland. I would be the last man to emulate the custom.

Well, I dissented from those peace resolutions, as they are called. Why so? In the first place, my lord, I conceive that there was not the least necessity for them.

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No member of this Association suggested an appeal to arms. No member of this Association advised it. No member of the Association would be so infatuated as to do so. In the existing circumstances of the country, an excitement to arms would be senseless and wicked, because irrational. To talk, in our days, of repealing the Act of Union by force of arms would be to rhapsodize. If the attempt were made, it would be a decided failure. There might be riot in the street; there would be no revolution in the country.

The secretary will far more effectually promote the cause of repeal by registering votes in Greene Street than registering firearms in the head police office. Conciliation Hall, on Burgh Quay, is more impregnable than a rebel camp on Vinegar Hill. The hustings at Dundalk will be more successfully stormed than the magazine in the Park. The Registry club, the reading room, the polling booths, these are the only positions in the country we can occupy. Voters' certificates, books, pamphlets, newspapers, these are the only weapons we can employ.

Therefore, my lord, I cast my vote in favor of the peaceful policy of this Association. It is the only policy we can adopt. If that policy be pursued with truth, with courage, with fixed determination of purpose, I firmly believe it will succeed.

But, my lord, I dissented from the resolutions before us for other reasons. I stated the first; I will now come to the second:

I dissented from them, for I felt that, by assenting to them, I should have pledged myself to the unqualified repudiation of physical force, in all countries, at all times, and under every circumstance. This I could not do; for, my lord, I do not abhor the use of arms in the vindication of national rights. There are times when arms will alone suffice, and when political ameliorations call for a drop of blood, and many thousand drops of blood.

Opinion, I admit, will operate against opinion; but, as the honorable Member for Kilkenny has observed, force must be used against force. The soldier is proof against an argument, but he is not proof against a bullet. The man that will listen to reason, let him be reasoned with. But it is the weaponed arm of the patriot that can alone prevail against battalioned despotism.

Then, my lord, I do not condemn the use of arms as immoral; nor do I conceive it profane to say that the King of Heaven — the Lord of Hosts — the God of battles — bestows his benediction

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upon those who unsheathe the sword in the hour of a nation's peril.

From that evening on which in the valley of Bethulia he nerved the arm of the Jewish girl to smite the drunken tyrant in his tent down to this, our day, on which he has blessed the insurgent chivalry of the Belgian priest, his Almighty Hand hath ever been stretched forth from his throne of light to consecrate the flag of freedom — to bless the patriot's sword. Be it in the defense, or be it in the assertion of a people's liberty, I hail the sword as a sacred weapon; and if, my lord, it has sometimes taken the shape of the serpent and reddened the shroud of the oppressor with too deep a dye, like the anointed rod of the high priest, it has at other times, and as often, blossomed into celestial flowers to deck the freeman's brow.

Abhor the sword — stigmatize the sword! No, my lord, for in the passes of the Tyrol it cut to pieces the banner of the Bavarians, and through those cragged passes struck a path to fame for the peasant insurrectionists of Innspruck.

Abhor the sword — stigmatize the sword! No, my lord, for at its blow a grand nation started from the waters of the Atlantic; and by its redeeming magic, and in the quivering of its crimson light, the crippled colony sprang into the attitude of a proud republic, — prosperous, limitless, and invincible.

Abhor the sword — stigmatize the sword! No, my lord, for it swept the Dutch marauders out of the fine old towns of Belgium — scourged them back to their own phlegmatic swamps — and knocked their flag and sceptre, their laws and bayonets, into the sluggish waters of the Scheldt.

My lord, I learned that it was the right of a nation to govern herself, not in this hall, but upon the ramparts of Antwerp. This, the first article of a nation's creed, I learned upon those ramparts, where freedom was justly estimated, and the possession of the precious gift was purchased by the effusion of generous blood.

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PHILIP MELANCHTHON

(1497–1560)

PHILIP MELANCHTHON, whose name is so inseparably connected with that of Luther in the history of the agitation which led to the Reformation, was born at Bretten, Germany, February 16th, 1497. His father was an armorer whose patronymic of "Schwarzerd," or "black earth," was translated into Greek as "Melanchthon" by Reuchlin, in the house of whose sister young Schwarzerd lived when attending the Academy at Pfortzheim. After completing his University course at Tübingen, Melanchthon became Professor of Greek in the University of Wittenberg, where he took the lead in the revival of classical learning. After assisting Luther in the translation of the Bible, he was drawn with him into the theological controversy which convulsed Europe. He died on the nineteenth of April, 1560, and was buried at Luther's side.

THE SAFETY OF THE VIRTUOUS

(A Sermon on the Text: "Neither shall any pluck them out of my hand," John x. 28, Delivered in 1550)

TO THEE almighty and true God, eternal Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, maker of heaven and earth, and of all creatures, together with thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Holy Ghost — to thee, the wise, good, true, righteous, compassionate, pure, gracious God we render thanks that thou hast hitherto upheld the Church in these lands, and graciously afforded it protection and care, and we earnestly beseech thee evermore to gather among us an inheritance for thy son, which may praise thee to all eternity.

I have in these our assemblies often uttered partly admonitions and partly reproofs, which I hope the most of you will bear in mind. But since I must presume that now the hearts of all are wrung with a new grief and a new pang by reason of the war in our neighborhood, this season seems to call for a word

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of consolation. And as we commonly say, "Where the pain is, there one claps his hand," I could not in this so great affliction make up my mind to turn my discourse upon any other subject. I do not, indeed, doubt that you yourselves seek comfort in the divine declarations, yet will I also bring before you some things collected therefrom, because always that on which we had ourselves thought becomes more precious to us when we hear that it proves itself salutary also to others. And because long discourses are burdensome in time of sorrow and mourning, I will without delay bring forward that comfort which is the most effectual.

Our pains are best assuaged when something good and beneficial, especially some help toward a happy issue, presents itself. All other topics of consolation, such as men borrow from the unavoidableness of suffering, and the examples of others, bring us no great alleviation. But the Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, who was crucified for us and raised again, and now sits at the right hand of the Father, offers us help and deliverance, and has manifested this disposition in many declarations. I will now speak of the words: "No man shall pluck my sheep out of my hands." This expression has often raised me up out of the deepest sorrow, and drawn me, as it were, out of hell.

The wisest men in all times have bewailed the great amount of human misery which we see with our eyes before we pass into eternity — diseases, death, want, our own errors by which we bring harm and punishment on ourselves, hostile men, unfaithfulness on the part of those with whom we are closely connected, banishment, abuse, desertion, miserable children, public and domestic strife, wars, murder, and devastation. And since such things appear to befall good and bad, without distinction, many wise men have inquired whether there were any Providence, or whether accident brings everything to pass independently of a Divine purpose. But we in the Church know that the first and principal cause of human woe is this, that on account of sin man is made subject to death and other calamity, which is so much more vehement in the Church, because the devil, from hatred toward God, makes fearful assaults on the Church and strives to destroy it utterly. Therefore it is written: "I will put enmity between the serpent and the seed of the woman." And Peter says: "Your adversary, the devil, goeth about as a roaring lion and seeketh whom he may devour."

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Not in vain, however, has God made known to us the causes of our misery. We should not only consider the greatness of our necessity, but also discern the causes of it, and recognize his righteous anger against sin, to the end that we may, on the other hand, perceive the Redeemer and the greatness of his compassion; and as witnesses to these his declarations, he adds the raising of dead men to life, and other miracles.

Let us banish from our hearts, therefore, the unbelieving opinions which imagine that evils befall us by mere chance, or from physical causes.

But when thou considerest the wounds in thy own circle of relations, or dost cast a glance at the public disorders in the State, which again afflict the individual also (as Solon says: "The general corruption penetrates even to thy quiet habitation"), then think, first, of thy own and others' sins, and of the righteous wrath of God; and, secondly, weigh the rage of the devil, who lets loose his hate chiefly in the Church.

In all men, even the better class, great darkness reigns. We see not how great an evil sin is, and regard not ourselves as so shamefully defiled. We flatter ourselves, in particular, because we profess a better doctrine concerning God. Nevertheless, we resign ourselves to a careless slumber, or pamper each one his own desires; our impurity, the disorders of the Church, the necessity of brethren, fills us not with pain; devotion is without fire and fervor; zeal for doctrine and discipline languishes, and not a few are my sins, and thine, and those of many others, by reason of which such punishments are heaped upon us.

Let us, therefore, apply our hearts to repentance, and direct our eyes to the son of God, in respect to whom we have the assurance that, after the wonderful counsel of God, he is placed over the family of man, to be the protector and preserver of his Church.

We perceive not fully either our wretchedness or our dangers, or the fury of enemies, until after events of extraordinary sorrowfulness. Still we ought to reflect thus: there must exist great need and a fearful might and rage of enemies, since so powerful a protector has been given to us, even God's Son. When he says: "No man shall pluck my sheep out of my hand," he indicates that he is no idle spectator of our woe, but that mighty and incessant strife is going on. The devil incites his tools to disturb the Church or the political commonwealth, that

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boundless confusion may enter, followed by heathenish desolation. But the son of God, who holds in his hands, as it were, the congregation of those who call upon his name, hurls back the devils by his infinite power, conquers and chases them thence, and will one day shut them up in the prison of hell, and punish them to all eternity with fearful pains. This comfort we must hold fast in regard to the entire Church, as well as each in regard to himself.

If, in these distracted and warring times, we see States blaze up and fall into ruin, then look away to the son of God, who stands in the secret counsel of the Godhead, and guards his little flock, and carries the weak lambs, as it were, in his own hands. Be persuaded that by him thou also shalt be protected and upheld.

Here some, not rightly instructed, will exclaim: «Truly I could wish to commend myself to such a keeper, but only his sheep does he preserve. Whether I also am counted in that flock, I know not.» Against this doubt we must most strenuously contend, for the Lord himself assures us in this very passage, that all who «hear and with faith receive the voice of the Gospel are his sheep»; and he says expressly: «If a man love me, he will keep my words, and my Father will love him, and we will come to him and make our abode with him.» These promises of the Son of God, which cannot be shaken, we must confidently appropriate to ourselves. Nor shouldst thou, by thy doubts, exclude thyself from this blessed flock, which originates in the righteousness of the Gospel. They do not rightly distinguish between the law and the Gospel, who, because they are unworthy, reckon not themselves among the sheep. Rather is this consolation afforded us, that we are accepted «for the son of God's sake,» truly, without merit, not on account of our own righteousness, but through faith, because we are unworthy, and impure, and far from having fulfilled the law of God. That is, moreover, a universal promise, in which the Son of God saith: «Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.»

The Eternal Father earnestly commands that we should hear the Son, and it is the greatest of all transgressions if we despise him and do not approve his voice. This is what every one should often and diligently consider, and in this disposition of the Father, revealed through the Son, find grace.

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Although, amid so great disturbances, many a sorrowful spectacle meets thine eye, and the Church is rent by discord and hate, and manifold and domestic public necessity is added thereto, still let not despair overcome thee, but know thou that thou hast the Son of God for a keeper and protector, who will not suffer either the Church, or thee, or thy family, to be plucked out of his hand by the fury of the devil.

With all my heart, therefore, do I supplicate the Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, who having been crucified for us, and raised again, sits at the right hand of the Father, to bless men with his gifts, and to him I pray that he would protect and govern this little Church and me therein. Other sure trust, in this great flame when the whole world is on fire, I discern nowhere. Each one has his separate hopes, and each one with his understanding seeks repose in something else; but however good that may all be, it is still a far better, and unquestionably a more effectual, consolation to flee to the Son of God and expect help and deliverance from him.

Such wishes will not be in vain. For to this end are we laden with such a crowd of dangers, that in events and occurrences which to human prudence are an inexplicable enigma, we may recognize the infinite goodness and presentness of God, in that he, for his Son's sake, and through his Son, affords us aid. God will be owned in such deliverance just as in the deliverance of your first parents, who, after the fall, when they were forsaken by all creatures, were upheld by the help of God alone. So was the family of Noah in the flood, so were the Israelites preserved when in the Red Sea they stood between the towering walls of waters. These glorious examples are held up before us, that we might know, in like manner, the Church, without the help of any created beings, is often preserved. Many in all times have experienced such Divine deliverance and support in their personal dangers, as David saith: "My father and my mother have forsaken me, but the Lord taketh me up," and in another place David saith: "He hath delivered the wretched who hath no helper." But in order that we may become partakers of these so great blessings, faith and devotion must be kindled within us, as it stands written: "Verily, I say unto you!" So likewise must our faith be exercised, that before deliverance we should pray for help and wait for it, resting in God with a certain cheerfulness of soul; and that we should not cherish continual

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doubt and melancholy murmuring in our hearts, but constantly set before our eyes the admonition of God: "The peace of God which is higher than all understanding keep your heart and mind"; which is to say, Be so comforted in God, in time of danger, that your hearts, having been strengthened by confidence in the pity and presentness of God, may patiently wait for help and deliverance, and quietly maintain that peaceful serenity which is the beginning of eternal life, and without which there can be no true devotion.

For distrust and doubt produce a gloomy and terrible hate toward God, and that is the beginning of the eternal torments, and a rage like that of the devil.

Now you must guard against these billows in the soul, and these stormy agitations, and, by meditation on the precious promises of God, keep and establish your hearts.

Truly these times allow not the wonted security and the wonted intoxication of the world, but they demand that with honest groans we should cry for help, as the Lord saith, "Watch and pray that ye fall not into temptation," that ye may not, being overcome by despair, plunge into everlasting destruction. There is need of wisdom to discern the dangers of the soul, as well as the safeguard against them. Souls go to ruin as well when, in epicurean security, they make light of the wrath of God, as when they are overcome by doubt and cast down by anxious sorrow, and these transgressions aggravate the punishment. The godly, on the other hand, who by faith and devotion keep their hearts erect and near to God, enjoy the beginning of eternal life and obtain mitigation of the general distress.

We, therefore, implore thee, Son of God, Lord Jesus Christ, who having been crucified and raised for us, standest in the secret counsel of the Godhead, and makest intercession for us, and hast said: "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." I call upon thee, and with my whole heart beseech thee, according to thine infinite compassion, forgive us our sins. Thou knowest that in our great weakness we are not able to bear the burden of our woe. Do thou, therefore, afford us aid in our private and public necessities; be thou our shade and protector, uphold the churches in these lands, and all which serves for their defense and watch-care.

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HUGH MILLER

(1802–1856)

HUGH MILLER'S lectures and addresses on Geology are inspired by the highest scientific imagination, and they abound in passages of such striking eloquence as this which concludes 'The Pledge Science Gives to Hope':—"In looking along the long line of being,—ever rising in the scale from higher to yet higher manifestations, or abroad on the lower animals whom instinct never deceives,—can we hold that man, immeasurably higher in his place, and infinitely higher in his hopes and aspirations, than all that ever went before him, should be, notwithstanding the one grand error in creation,—the one painful worker in the midst of present trouble for a state into which he is never to enter,—the befooled expectant of a happy future which he is never to see? Assuredly no. He who keeps faith with all his humbler creatures,—who gives to even the bee and the dormouse the winter for which they prepare,—will to a certainty not break faith with man." Miller was born at Cromarty, Scotland, October 10th, 1802, in the humblest circumstances. Beginning life as a stone mason, he educated himself by study and research until he became one of the most celebrated geologists of his time. His works, 'The Old Red Sandstone,' 'The Footprints of the Creator,' 'The Testimony of the Rocks,' etc., will always remain among the classics of science. He committed suicide, during a fit of insanity, December 2d, 1856.

THE PLEDGE SCIENCE GIVES TO HOPE

(From an Address Delivered at Edinburgh)

NEVER yet on Egyptian obelisk or Assyrian frieze,—where long lines of figures seem stalking across the granite, each charged with symbol and mystery,—have our Layards or Rawlinsons seen aught so extraordinary as that long procession of being which, starting out of the blank depths of the bygone eternity, is still defiling across the stage, and of which we ourselves form some of the passing figures. Who shall declare the

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profound meanings with which these geologic hieroglyphics are charged, or indicate the ultimate goal at which the long procession is destined to arrive?

The readings already given, the conclusions already deduced, are as various as the hopes and fears, the habits of thought, and the cast of intellect, of the several interpreters who have set themselves — some, alas! with but little preparation and very imperfect knowledge — to declare in their order the details of this marvelous, dream-like vision, and, with the dream, "the interpretation thereof." One class of interpreters may well remind us of the dim-eyed old man, — the genius of unbelief so poetically described by Coleridge, — who, sitting in his cold and dreary cave, "talked much and vehemently concerning an infinite series of causes and effects, which he explained to be a string of blind men, the last of whom caught hold of the skirt of the one before him, he of the next, and so on, till they were all out of sight, and that they all walked infallibly straight, without making one false step, though all were alike blind." With these must I class those assertors of the development hypothesis who can see in the upward progress of being only the operations of an incomprehending and incomprehensible law, through which, in the course of unreckoned ages, the lower tribes and families have risen into the higher, and inferior into superior natures, and in virtue of which, in short, the animal creation has grown, in at least its nobler specimens, altogether unwittingly, without thought or care on its own part, and without intelligence on the part of the operating law, from irrational to rational, and risen in the scale from the mere promptings of instinct to the highest exercise of reason, — from apes and baboons to Bacons and Newtons. The blind lead the blind; — the unseeing law operates on the unperceiving creatures; and they go, not together into the ditch, but direct onwards, straight as an arrow, and higher and higher at every step.

Another class look with profound melancholy on that great city of the dead, — the burial-place of all that ever lived in the past, — which occupies with its ever-extending pavements of gravestones, and its ever-lengthening streets of tombs and sepulchres, every region opened up by the geologist. They see the onward procession of being as if but tipped with life, and naught but inanimate carcasses all behind, — dead individuals, dead species, dead genera, dead creations, — a universe of death; and ask

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whether the same annihilation which overtook in turn all the races of all the past shall not one day overtake our own race also, and a time come when men and their works shall have no existence save as stone-pervaded fossils locked up in the rock forever? Nowhere do we find the doubts and fears of this class more admirably portrayed than in the works of perhaps the most thoughtful and suggestive of living poets: —

"Are God and Nature then at strife,
That Nature lends such evil dreams,
So careful of the type she seems,
So careless of the single life?
'So careful of the type!' but no,
From scarpèd cliff and quarried stone,
She cries, 'A thousand types are gone;
I care for nothing; all shall go:
Thou makest thine appeal to me;
I bring to life, I bring to death;
The spirit does but mean the breath.
I know no more.' And he, — shall he,
Man, her last work, who seemed so fair,
Such splendid purpose in his eyes,
Who rolled the psalm to wintry skies
And built him fanes of fruitless prayer,
Who trusted God was love indeed,
And love creation's final law,
Though Nature, red in tooth and claw,
With ravin shrieked against his creed, —
Who loved, who suffered countless ills,
Who battled for the true, the just, —
Be blown about the desert dust,
Or sealed within the iron hills?
No more! — a monster then, a dream,
A discord. Dragons of the prime,
That tore each other in their slime,
Were mellow music matched with him.
O life, as futile then as frail, —
Oh, for thy voice to soothe and bless!
What hope of answer or redress,
Behind the vail, behind the vail!"

The sagacity of the poet here, — that strange sagacity which seems so nearly akin to the prophetic spirit, — suggests in this noble passage the true reading of the enigma. The appearance

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of man upon the scene of being constitutes a new era in creation; the operations of a new instinct come into play,— that instinct which anticipates a life after the grave, and reposes in implicit faith upon a God alike just and good, who is the pledged "rewarder of all who diligently seek him." And in looking along the long line of being,— ever rising in the scale from higher to yet higher manifestations, or abroad on the lower animals, whom instinct never deceives,— can we hold that man, immeasurably higher in his place, and infinitely higher in his hopes and aspirations, than all that ever went before him, should be, notwithstanding, the one grand error in creation, the one painful worker, in the midst of present trouble, for a state into which he is never to enter,— the befooled expectant of a happy future, which he is never to see? Assuredly no. He who keeps faith with all his humbler creatures,— who gives to even the bee and the dormouse the winter for which they prepare,— will to a certainty not break faith with man,— with man, alike the deputed lord of the present creation and the chosen heir of all the future. We have been looking abroad on the old geologic burying-grounds, and deciphering the strange inscriptions on their tombs; but there are other burying-grounds and other tombs,— solitary churchyards among the hills, where the dust of the martyrs lies, and tombs that rise over the ashes of the wise and good; nor are there awanting, on even the monuments of the perished races, frequent hieroglyphics, and symbols of high meaning, which darkly intimate to us that while their burial-yards contain but the débris of the past, we are to regard the others as charged with the sown seed of the future.

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JOHN MILTON

(1608–1674)

MILTON'S 'Areopagitica' or 'Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing, to the Parliament of England' was modeled on the 'Oratio Areopagitica' of Isocrates. Neither the speech of Milton nor the oration of Isocrates was actually delivered or intended for delivery, but both have exercised a far-reaching influence. Milton's "speech" is one of the best examples of his prose, but aside from its literary merits it is memorable because of its influence on Erskine and other great Englishmen and Americans who were inspired by it to make the struggle for the freedom of speech which they regarded as the prerequisite of higher civilization.

A SPEECH FOR THE LIBERTY OF UNLICENSED PRINTING

(From Milton's 'Areopagitica')

LORDS and Commons of England consider what nation it is whereof ye are, and whereof ye are the governors: a nation not slow and dull, but of a quick, ingenious, and piercing spirit, acute to invent, subtle and sinewy to discourse, not beneath the reach of any point the highest that human capacity can soar to. Therefore the studies of Learning in her deepest sciences have been so ancient and so eminent among us, that writers of good antiquity and ablest judgment have been persuaded that even the school of Pythagoras and the Persian wisdom took beginning from the old philosophy of this island. And that wise and civil Roman, Julius Agricola, who governed once here for Cæsar, preferred the natural wits of Britain before the labored studies of the French. Nor is it for nothing that the grave and frugal Transylvanian sends out yearly from as far as the mountainous borders of Russia, and beyond the Hercynian wilderness, not their youth, but their staid men to learn our language and our theologic arts. Yet that which is above all this, the favor and the love of heaven, we have great argument to think in a peculiar

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manner propitious and propending towards us. Why else was this nation chosen before any other, that out of her as out of Sion should be proclaimed and sounded forth the first tidings and trumpet of reformation to all Europe? And had it not been the obstinate perverseness of our prelates against the divine and admirable spirit of Wickliff, to suppress him as a schismatic and innovator, perhaps neither the Bohemian Huss and Jerome, no nor the name of Luther or of Calvin, had been ever known: the glory of reforming all our neighbors had been completely ours. But now, as our obdurate clergy have with violence demeaned the matter, we are become hitherto the latest and backwardest scholars, of whom God offered to have made us the teachers. Now once again by all concurrence of signs, and by the general instinct of holy and devout men, as they daily and solemnly express their thoughts, God is decreeing to begin some new and great period in his Church, even to the reforming of Reformation itself: what does he, then, but reveal himself to his servants, and as his manner is, first to his Englishmen; I say as his manner is, first to us, though we mark not the method of his counsels, and are unworthy. Behold now this vast city: a city of refuge, the mansion house of liberty, encompassed and surrounded with his protection; the shop of war hath not there more anvils and hammers waking, to fashion out the plates and instruments of armed justice in defense of beleaguered truth, than there be pens and heads there, sitting by their studious lamps, musing, searching, revolving new notions and ideas wherewith to present, as with their homage and their fealty, the approaching Reformation: others as fast reading, trying all things, assenting to the force of reason and convincement. What could a man require more from a nation so pliant and so prone to seek after knowledge? What wants there to such a towardly and pregnant soil but wise and faithful laborers, to make a knowing people, a nation of prophets, of sages, and of worthies? We reckon more than five months yet to harvest; there need not be five weeks had we but eyes to lift up. The fields are white already. Where there is much desire to learn, there of necessity will be much arguing, much writing, many opinions; for opinion in good men is but knowledge in the making.

Under these fantastic terrors of sect and schism, we wrong the earnest and zealous thirst after knowledge and understanding which God hath stirred up in this city. What some lament of,

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we rather should rejoice at, should rather praise this pious forwardness among men, to reassume the ill-reputed care of their religion into their own hands again. A little generous prudence, a little forbearance of one another, and some grain of charity might win all these diligences to join, and unite in one general and brotherly search after truth,—could we but forgo this prelatical tradition of crowding free consciences and Christian liberties into canons and precepts of men. I doubt not, if some great and worthy stranger should come among us, wise to discern the mold and temper of a people, and how to govern it, observing the high hopes and aims, the diligent alacrity of our extended thoughts and reasonings in the pursuance of truth and freedom, but that he would cry out as Pyrrhus did, admiring the Roman docility and courage. If such were my Epirots, I would not despair the greatest design that could be attempted to make a church or kingdom happy. Yet these are the men cried out against for schismatics and sectaries; as if, while the temple of the Lord was building, some cutting, some squaring the marble, others hewing the cedars, there should be a sort of irrational men who could not consider there must be many schisms and many dissections made in the quarry and in the timber, ere the house of God can be built. And when every stone is laid artfully together, it cannot be united into a continuity, it can but be contiguous in this world; neither can every piece of the building be of one form; nay rather the perfection consists in this, that out of many moderate varieties and brotherly dissimilitudes that are not vastly disproportional, arises the goodly and the graceful symmetry that commends the whole pile and structure. Let us, therefore, be more considerate builders, more wise in spiritual architecture, when great reformation is expected. For now the time seems come wherein Moses, the great prophet, may sit in heaven rejoicing to see that memorable and glorious wish of his fulfilled, when not only our seventy Elders, but all the Lord's people, are become prophets. No marvel, then, though some men, and some good men too, perhaps, but young in goodness, as Joshua then was, envy them. They fret, and out of their own weakness are in agony, lest these divisions and subdivisions will undo us. The adversary again applauds, and waits the hour. When they have branched themselves out, saith he, small enough into parties and partitions, then will be our time. Fool! he sees not the firm root, out of which we all grow, though

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into branches; nor will beware until he see our small divided maniples cutting through at every angle of his ill-united and unwieldy brigade. And that we are to hope better of all these supposed sects and schisms, and that we shall not need that solicitude honest, perhaps, though over-timorous of them that vex in this behalf, but shall laugh in the end at those malicious applauders of our differences, I have these reasons to persuade me.

First, when a city shall be, as it were, besieged and blocked about, her navigable river infested, inroads and incursions round, defiance and battle oft rumored to be marching up even to her walls and suburb trenches, that then the people, or the greater part, more than at other times, wholly taken up with the study of highest and most important matters to be reformed, should be disputing, reasoning, reading, inventing, discoursing, even to a rarity and admiration, things not before discoursed or written of, argues first a singular good-will, contentedness and confidence in your prudent foresight, and safe government, lords and commons; and from thence derives itself to a gallant bravery and well-grounded contempt of their enemies, as if there were no small number of as great spirits among us, as his was, who when Rome was nigh besieged by Hannibal, being in the city, bought that piece of ground at no cheap rate, whereon Hannibal himself encamped his own regiment. Next it is a lively and cheerful presage of our happy success and victory. For as in a body, when the blood is fresh, the spirits pure and vigorous, not only to vital, but to rational faculties, and those in the acutest, and the pertest operations of wit and subtlety, it argues in what good plight and constitution the body is, so when the cheerfulness of the people is so sprightly up, as that it has, not only wherewith to guard well its own freedom and safety, but to spare and to bestow upon the solidest and sublimest points of controversy and new invention, it betokens us not degenerated, nor drooping to a fatal decay, but casting off the old and wrinkled skin of corruption to outlive these pangs and wax young again, entering the glorious ways of truth and prosperous virtue destined to become great and honorable in these latter ages. Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks: methinks I see her as an eagle mewing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full midday beam; purging and unscaling her long-abused sight at the fountain itself of

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heavenly radiance; while the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds, with those also that love the twilight, flutter about, amazed at what she means, and in their envious gabble would prognosticate a year of sects and schisms.

What should ye do then, should ye suppress all this flowery crop of knowledge and new light sprung up and yet springing daily in this city, should ye set an oligarchy of twenty engrossers over it, to bring a famine upon our minds again, when we shall know nothing but what is measured to us by their bushel? Believe it, lords and commons, they who counsel ye to such a suppressing do as good as bid ye suppress yourselves; and I will soon show how. If it be desired to know the immediate cause of all this free writing and free speaking, there cannot be assigned a truer than your own mild, and free, and humane government; it is the liberty, lords and commons, which your own valorous and happy counsels have purchased us,—liberty which is the nurse of all great wits; this is that which hath rarefied and enlightened our spirits like the influence of heaven; this is that which hath enfranchised, enlarged, and lifted up our apprehensions degrees above themselves. Ye cannot make us now less capable, less knowing, less eagerly pursuing of the truth, unless ye first make yourselves, that made us so, less the lovers, less the founders of our true liberty. We can grow ignorant again, brutish, formal, and slavish, as ye found us; but you then must first become that which ye cannot be, oppressive, arbitrary, and tyrannous, as they were from whom ye have freed us. That our hearts are now more capacious, our thoughts more erected to the search and expectation of greatest and exactest things, is the issue of your own virtue propagated in us; ye cannot suppress that unless ye reinforce an abrogated and merciless law that fathers may despatch at will their own children. And who shall then stick closest to ye, and excite others? not he who takes up arms for coat and conduct, and his four nobles of Danegelt. Although I dispraise not the defense of just immunities, yet I love my peace better, if that were all. Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties.

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COMTE DE MIRABEAU

(GABRIEL HONORÉ RIQUETTI, COMTE DE MIRABEAU)

(1749–1791)

IRABEAU'S supremacy among the orators of the French Revolution is generally conceded. Governed by intellect and impulse, controlled usually by good intentions, and full of sympathy for progress, as he understood it, it does not appear that he was ever hampered either in expression or in action by purely moral considerations. Born March 9th, 1749, near Nemours, he inherited the worst, as well as the best, traits of a family in which intellect had been developed at the expense of morals. His father who has been judged severely by historians and critics seems to have resented with great bitterness his son's infirmities and criminal tendencies, though it has been asserted with reason that the worst of them were hereditary. As a result, the younger Mirabeau was a victim of a *lettre de cachet*, and spent a considerable part of his youth in the Bastile. He improved his time in prison by acquiring a great deal of the knowledge he afterwards used to such advantage in politics, but he employed it also in compiling a book of the most dissolute character — unmentionable except as it illustrates his vital weakness of mind and morals — a weakness which appeared at the crisis of his life — which, when he undertook to be the ruling spirit of the French Revolution, "guiding the whirlwind and directing the storm," brought him premature death followed by the infamy of the potter's field, inflicted by those who believed with too much reason that he had deserted the cause of popular government for the service of the court. It is asserted, and in some instances proven, that speeches and addresses which helped to make his great reputation as an orator were prepared for him by the circle of highly intellectual men who surrounded him, but even if all were conceded that is claimed, it would still remain true that as an extemporaneous speaker he has been seldom surpassed. It is said of him that in delivering his extemporaneous harangues "his frame dilated, his face was wrinkled and contorted; he roared and stamped; his whole system was seized with an electric irritability, and writhed as under an almost preternatural agitation. . . .

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«The effect of his eloquence was greatly increased by his hideously magnificent aspect,—the massive frame, the features full of pock marks and blotches, the eagle eye that dismayed with a look, the voice of thunder, the hair that waved like a lion's mane.» Much of this appearance of extreme emotion was carefully cultivated and theatrical, but such success as that of Mirabeau could never have been possible to mere false pretenses. «If I wish to compose, or write, or pray, and preach well, I must be *zornig*,» writes Martin Luther. *Zornig* has been translated «angry,» but its meaning, as Luther used it and as it applies to the deepest causes of Mirabeau's eloquence, is far higher. It means moved by indignation against wrong; by the feeling which impels one who has a highly developed sense of order to resent and resist disorder; which leaves no peace to the man who loves right, when he sees wrong being done. The Hindoo sage who has almost attained «Nirvana» would be considered by his fellow-philosophers a recreant to his ideals were he to sacrifice his own immediate prospect of eternal peace to prevent the oppression of some pariah of his tribe,—even were that oppression in the form of murder itself attempted in his presence! But to the nature which is capable of *Zorn* as it moved Mirabeau, such an eternity of peace would be rejected if only for the sake of the supreme satisfaction of struggle. Had Mirabeau been as capable of controlling himself as he was of mastering others, he might almost have achieved the omnipotence which, in the enormity of his vanity, he often seemed to arrogate for himself. Soon after his death, April 2d, 1791, the suspicions which had long been entertained of his corrupt connection with the court were confirmed. The agreement under which he became a stipendiary of royalty is preserved and published in Lafayette's 'Memoirs.' «Mirabeau,» writes Lord Brougham, «contributed by his courage and his eloquence to the destruction of the old monarchy more than any one individual,—more even than Necker did by his weakness and his inconsistency. His was the first eloquence that emancipated France ever experienced. Admitted at length to assist in popular assemblies, addressed as the arbiters of the country's fate, called to perform their part by debating and hearing debates, it was by Mirabeau that the people were first made to feel the force of the orator, first taught what it was to hear spoken reason and spoken passion; and the silence of ages in those halls was first broken by the thunder of his voice echoing through the lofty vaults now covering multitudes of excited men. That his eloquence should in such circumstances pass for more than its value was inevitable; and that its power should be prodigious in proportion to the novelty of the occasion was quite a matter of course. No one ever ruled assemblies, either of the people or of their representatives, with a more

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absolute sway; none ever reaped an ampler harvest of popular sympathy and popular applause than he did when he broke up the public mind lying waste in France, and never till then touched or subdued by the rhetorician's art. But no sooner had he overthrown all the institutions of the monarchy than he entered into treaty with the court, to whose weakness his influence had become necessary as a restorative or a prop. It is possible, no doubt, that he may have felt the perils in which he had involved the country; but it is certain that the price of his assistance in rescuing her was stipulated with all the detail of the most sordid chaffering; and it is as undeniable that, had not death taken him from the stage at the moment of his greatest popularity, he must have stood or sunk before the world in a few weeks, as a traitor to the people, purchased with a price, and that price a large sum and a large income in the current coin of the realm." W. V. B.

ON NECKER'S PROJECT—"AND YET YOU DELIBERATE"

(Delivered in the Constituent Assembly on Necker's Financial Project of a Twenty-Five Per Cent. Income Tax, September 26th, 1789)

Gentlemen:—

IN THE midst of this tumultuous debate can I not bring you back to the question of the deliberation by a few simple questions. Deign, gentlemen, to hear me and to vouchsafe a reply.

The minister of finance,—has he not shown you a most formidable picture of our actual situation? Has he not told you that every delay aggravates the danger—that a day, an hour, an instant, may make it fatal?

Have we any other plan to substitute for the one he proposes? "Yes," cries some one in the assembly! I conjure the one making this reply of "Yes," to consider that his plan is unknown; that it would take time to develop, examine, and demonstrate it; that even were it at once submitted to our deliberation, its author may be mistaken; were he even free of all error, it might be thought he was wrong, for when the whole world is wrong, the whole world makes wrong right. The author of this other project in being right might be wrong against the world, since without the assent of public opinion the greatest talents could not triumph over such circumstances.

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And I—I myself—do not believe the methods of M. Necker the very best possible. But heaven preserve me in such a critical situation from opposing my views to his! Vainly I might hold them preferable! One does not in a moment rival an immense popularity achieved by brilliant services; a long experience, the reputation of the highest talent as a financier, and, it can be added, a destiny such as has been achieved by no other man!

Let us then return to this plan of M. Necker. But have we the time to examine, to prove its foundation, to verify its calculations? No, no, a thousand times no! Insignificant questions, hazardous conjectures, doubts, and gropings, these are all that at this moment are in our power. What shall we accomplish by rejecting this deliberation? Miss our decisive moment, injure our self-esteem by changing something we neither know nor understand, and diminish by our indiscreet intervention the influence of a minister, whose financial credit is, and ought to be, much greater than our own. Gentlemen, there assuredly is in this neither wisdom nor foresight. Does it even show good faith? If no less solemn declarations guarantee our respect for the public faith, our horror of the infamous word "bankruptcy," I might dare to scrutinize the secret motives which make us hesitate to promulgate an act of patriotic devotion which will be inefficacious if not done immediately and with full confidence.

I would say to those who familiarize themselves with the idea of failing to keep the public faith, either by fear of taxes or of excessive sacrifices: What is bankruptcy, if not the most cruel, the most iniquitous, the most unequal, the most disastrous of imposts? My friends, hear but a word—a single word:—

Two centuries of depredations and brigandage have made the chasm in which the kingdom is ready to engulf itself. We must close this fearful abyss. Well, here is a list of French proprietors! Choose among the richest, thus sacrificing the least number of citizens! But choose! For must not a small number perish to save the mass of the people? Well, these two thousand notables possess enough to make up the deficit. This will restore order in the finances and bring peace and prosperity to the kingdom!

Strike, immolate without pity these wretched victims, cast them into the abyss until it is closed. You recoil in horror, inconsistent and pusillanimous men! Do you not see that in decreeing bankruptcy, or what is still more odious, in rendering it

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inevitable, without decreeing it, you do a deed a thousand times more criminal, and — folly inconceivable — gratuitously criminal? For at least this horrible sacrifice would cause the disappearance of the deficit. But do you imagine that in refusing to pay, you will cease to owe? Do you believe that the thousands, the millions of men, who will lose in an instant, by the terrible explosion or its repercussion, all that made the consolation of their lives, and constituted, perhaps, the sole means of their support, would leave you peaceably to enjoy your crime? Stoical contemplators of the incalculable evils, which this catastrophe would disgorge upon France! Impassive egoists who think that these convulsions of despair and misery shall pass like so many others, and the more rapidly as they are the more violent! Are you sure that so many men without bread will leave you tranquilly to the enjoyment of those dainties, the number and delicacy of which you are unwilling to diminish. No! you will perish, and in the universal conflagration you do not hesitate to kindle, the loss of your honor will not save a single one of your detestable enjoyments!

Look where we are going! . . . I hear you speak of patriotism, and the *elan* of patriotism, of invocations to patriotism. Ah! do not prostitute the words, "country" and "patriotism"! Is it so very magnanimous — the effort to give a portion of one's revenue to save all of one's possessions? This, gentlemen, is only simple arithmetic; and he who hesitates cannot disarm indignation except by the contempt he inspires through his stupidity. Yes, gentlemen, this is the plainest prudence, the commonest wisdom! It is your gross material interests I invoke! I shall not say to you as formerly: Will you be the first to exhibit to the nations the spectacle of a people assembled to make default in their public obligations? I shall not say again: What titles have you to liberty? What means remain to you to preserve it, if in your first act you surpass the turpitude of the most corrupt governments; if the first care of your vigilant cooperation is not for the guarantee of your constitution? I tell you, you will all be dragged into a universal ruin, and you yourselves have the greatest interests in making the sacrifices the Government asks of you. Vote, then, for this extraordinary subsidy; and it may be sufficient! Vote for it, for if you have any doubts on the means adopted (vague and unenlightened doubts), you have none as to its necessity, or our inability to provide an

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immediate substitute. Vote, then, because public necessity admits no delay and we shall be held accountable for any delay that occurs. Beware of asking for time! Misfortune never grants it!

Gentlemen, apropos of a ridiculous disturbance at the Palais Royal, of a laughable insurrection, which never had any importance save in the weak imaginations or perverted designs of a few faith-breakers, you have heard these mad words: "Catiline is at the gates of Rome! And yet you deliberate!"

And certainly there has been about us no Catiline, no peril, no faction, no Rome. But to-day bankruptcy — hideous bankruptcy is here — it threatens to consume you, your properties, your honor! And yet you deliberate!

(Address to the Nation on Necker's Project Offered by Mirabeau, October 2d, 1789*)

THE deputies who from the national assembly, suspend, for awhile, their proceedings, in order to make known the wants of the State to their constituents, and, in the name of the country in danger, call upon them for their patriotic co-operation.

We should betray the interests you have confided to us, did we conceal from you that the nation is now on the eve of either rising to a glorious destiny or sinking into an abyss of misery.

A great revolution, which, a few months since, appeared chimerical, has just been effected in the midst of us all; but its progress having been accelerated by events upon which no human foresight could calculate, it has, by its impetuosity, dragged down with it the whole fabric of the ancient system of government, and without giving us time to prop up those parts which it might have been advantageous to preserve, or replacing those which it was right to destroy, it has suddenly surrounded us with a huge heap of ruins.

In vain have our exertions supported the Government. It has become completely powerless. The public revenue has disappeared, and credit cannot raise its head at a period when there is perhaps more to fear than to hope. In letting itself down, this mainspring of social strength has relaxed all around it;

*This is one of a number of addresses composed or fathered by Mirabeau, the composition of which in whole or in part is claimed by Dumont.

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men and things, resolution, courage, and even virtue. If your assistance restore not rapidly the body politic to life, this most admirable Revolution will be lost ere it be complete; it will return to chaos, whence so many noble works have brought it forth, and they who must ever preserve the invincible love of freedom will not even leave to bad citizens the degrading consolation of a return to slavery.

Ever since your deputies have, by a just and necessary union, destroyed all rivalry and clashing of interests, the National Assembly has not ceased its exertions in framing a code of laws applicable to all classes and conditions, and the safeguard of all. It has required grievous errors, broken the bonds of feudal servitude which degraded humanity, diffused joy and hope through the hearts of our husbandmen — those creditors of the soil and of nature so long discouraged and branded with shame — re-established that equality between Frenchmen, so long disavowed, consisting in a common right to serve the State, enjoy its protection, and deserve its favors; in short, it is gradually raising upon the unchangeable basis of the imprescriptible rights of man a constitution mild as nature, lasting as justice, and whose imperfections, arising from the inexperience of its authors, may be easily amended.

We have had to contend with the inveterate prejudices of ages, and much uncertainty always attends great political changes. Our successors will be enlightened by our experience, for we have been obliged to tread in a new path with only a glimmering light of the principles which were to guide us. They will proceed peaceably, for we shall have borne the brunt of the tempest. They will know their rights and the limits of every power in the State; for we shall have recovered the one and fixed the other. They will consolidate our work, and surpass us — this will be our reward. Who now would dare assign a term to the greatness of France? Who would not, on the contrary, elevate its prospects, and glory in being one of its citizens?

Nevertheless, the state of our finances is such that our social edifice threatens to fall before we can consolidate it. The failure of the revenue has diminished the currency of the realm; a host of circumstances has drained the kingdom of the precious metals, and all sources of credit are dried up; the general circulation is on the eve of stoppage, and if your patriotism assist

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not the Government in its finances,— which embraces everything, army, navy, subsistence, arts, commerce, agriculture, and national debts,— France will be rapidly precipitated towards a horrible catastrophe, and will receive no laws save from disorder and anarchy! . . .

Freedom will have shone upon us but an instant, to disappear forever, leaving us the bitter consciousness that we are unworthy of her! To our own eternal shame, and to the conviction of the whole universe, we shall owe our evils solely to ourselves. With so fertile a soil, so fruitful an industry, so flourishing a trade, and such extensive means of prosperity, the embarrassments in our finances are comparatively trifling. The whole of our present wants would scarcely cover the expenses of a war campaign; and is not our liberty much more precious than those mad struggles in which even our victories have been fatal?

The present crisis once past, it will be easier to better the condition of the people; and no more burdens need be imposed upon them. Reductions which will not reach luxury and opulence, reforms which will not affect the fortunes of any, easy conversions of imposts, and an equal distribution of taxes, will, by the equilibrium of receipts and disbursements, establish a permanent order of things; and this consolatory prospect is formed upon exact calculations — upon real and well-known objects. On this occasion hope is susceptible of demonstration, because the imagination is rendered subservient to arithmetic.

But to meet our actual wants, restore motion to the machinery of Government, and cover for this year and the next the one hundred and sixty millions of extraordinary expenditure — the minister of finance proposes as a means which, in this emergency, may save the monarchy, a contribution proportionate to the income of each citizen.

Pressed between the necessity of providing immediately for the wants of the State and the impossibility of deeply investigating the plan proposed by the minister, in so limited a time, we have refrained from long and doubtful discussions; and seeing nothing in the minister's proposal derogatory from our duty, we have confidently adopted it, in the persuasion that you would do the same. The general affection of the nation towards the author of this plan seems to us the pledge of its success, and we have trusted to the minister's long experience as a surer guide than new speculations.

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The fixation of the amount of their several incomes is left to the conscience of the citizens themselves; thus, the success of the measure depends solely upon their patriotism, and we are therefore warranted in entertaining no doubt of such success.

When a nation ascends from the depths of servitude to the glorious regions of freedom — when policy is about to concur with nature in the immense development of its high destinies — shall vile passions oppose its grandeur, or egotism arrest its flight? Is the safety of the State of less weight than a personal contribution?

No, such an error cannot exist; — the passions themselves yield not to such base calculations. If the Revolution, which has given us a country, has left some Frenchmen indifferent, it will be their interest to maintain, at all events, the tranquillity of the kingdom, as the only pledge of their personal safety. For it is certainly not in a general tumult — in the degradation of public authority — when thousands of indigent citizens, driven from their work and their means of subsistence, shall claim the sterile commiseration of their brethren — when armies shall be dissolved into wandering bands armed with swords and irritated by hunger — when property shall be threatened, lives no longer safe, and grief and terror upon the threshold of every door — it is not in such a state of society that the egotist can enjoy the mite he has refused to contribute for the wants of his country. The only difference in his fate, in the common calamity, would be deserved opprobrium; and in his bosom, unavailing remorse.

What recent proofs have we not had of that public spirit which places success beyond a doubt. With what rapidity was that national militia, were those legions of armed citizens formed, for the defense of the States, the preservation of public peace, and due execution of the laws! A generous emulation pervaded the whole kingdom. Towns, cities, provinces, all considered their privileges as odious distinctions, and aspired to the honor of sacrificing them to enrich their country. You well know that there was not time to draw up a separate decree for each sacrifice, which a truly pure and patriotic sentiment dictated to all classes of citizens, who voluntarily restored to the great family that which was exclusively enjoyed by the few to the prejudice of the many.

Patriotic gifts have been singularly multiplied during the present crisis in the finances. The most noble examples have

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emanated from the throne, whose majesty is elevated by the virtue of the prince who sits upon it. O prince, so justly beloved by your people! King, honest man, and good citizen! You glanced at the magnificence which surrounded you, and the riches of ostentation were forthwith converted into national resources! By foregoing the imbellishments of luxury, your royal dignity received new splendor; and while the affection of your people makes them murmur at your privations, their sensibility applauds your noble courage, and their generosity will return your benefactions, as you wish them to be returned, by imitating your virtue and affording you the delight of having guided them through the difficult paths of public sacrifice.

How vast is the wealth which ostentation and vanity have made their prey, and which might become the active agent of prosperity! To what an extent might individual economy concur with the most noble views in restoring happiness to the kingdom! The immense riches accumulated by the piety of our forefathers for the service of the altar would not change their religious destinations by being brought from their obscurity and devoted to the public service! "These are the hoards which I collected in the days of prosperity," says our holy religion; "I add them to the general mass in the present times of public calamity. I required them not; no borrowed splendor can add to my greatness. It was for you and for the State that I levied this tribute upon the piety of your ancestors."

Oh! who would reject such examples as these? How favorable is the present moment for the development of our resources, and for claiming assistance from all parts of the empire! Let us prevent the opprobrium of violating our most sacred engagements, which would prove a foul blot upon the infancy of our freedom. Let us prevent those dreadful shocks which, by overthrowing the most solid institutions, would affect far and near the fortune of all classes of citizens, and present, throughout the kingdom, the sad spectacle of a disgraceful ruin. How do they deceive themselves who, at a distance from the metropolis, consider not the public faith, either in its inseparable connection with the national prosperity, or as the primary condition of our social compact! Do they who pronounce the infamous word "bankruptcy" desire that we should form a community of wild beasts, instead of equitable and free men? What Frenchman would dare look upon one of his unfortunate brethren if his

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conscience should whisper to him that he had contributed his share towards poisoning the existence of millions of his fellow-creatures? Should we be any longer that nation whose very enemies grant us the pride of honor, if foreigners could degrade us with the title of "Bankrupt Nation," and accuse us of having assumed our freedom and our strength only to commit crimes at which even Despotism herself would shudder?

Our protesting that our execrable crime was not premeditated would avail us nothing. The cries of our victims, disseminated all over Europe, would be a louder and a more effective protestation than ours. We must act without loss of time; prompt, efficacious, and certain measures must be adopted; and that cloud must disappear, which has been so long suspended over our heads, and, from one end of Europe to the other, has thrown consternation into the minds of the creditors of France;—for it may, at length, become more fatal to our national resources than the dreadful scourge which has ravished our provinces.

What courage would the adoption of this plan give us in the functions you have confided to our zeal! And how could we proceed with safety, in the constitution of a State whose very existence is in danger? We promised, nay, we solemnly swore to save the country. Judge, then, of our anguish, when we fear that it will perish in our hands. A momentary sacrifice is all that is required; but it must be frankly made to the public good, and not to the depredations of cupidity. And is this slight expiation of the faults and errors of the period marked by our political servitude beyond our courage? God forbid! Let us remember the price paid for freedom, by every people who have showed themselves worthy of it. Torrents of blood, lengthened misfortunes, and dreadful civil wars have everywhere marked her birth. She only requires of us a pecuniary sacrifice; and this vulgar offering is not a gift that will impoverish us, for she will return to enrich us, and shine upon our cities and fields to increase their glory and prosperity.

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DEFYING THE FRENCH ARISTOCRACY

(From a Speech against the Nobility and Clergy of Provence, February 3d, 1789)

IN ALL countries, in all ages, have aristocrats implacably pursued the friends of the people; and when, by I know not what combination of fortune, such a friend has uprisen from the very bosom of the aristocracy, it has been at him pre-eminently that they have struck, eager to inspire wider terror by the elevation of their victim. So perished the last of the Gracchi by the hands of the Patricians. But, mortally smitten, he flung dust towards heaven, calling the avenging gods to witness: and from that dust sprang Marius — Marius, less illustrious for having exterminated the Cimbri than for having beaten down the despotism of the nobility in Rome.

But you, Commons, listen to one, who, unseduced by your applauses, yet cherishes them in his heart. Man is strong only by union; happy only by peace. Be firm, not obstinate; courageous, not turbulent; free, not undisciplined; prompt, not precipitate. Stop not, except at difficulties of moment; and be then wholly inflexible. But disdain the contentions of self-love, and never thrust into the balance the individual against the country. Above all hasten, as much as in you lies, the epoch of those States-General, from which you are charged with flinching,— the more acrimoniously charged, the more your accusers dread the results; of those States-General, through which so many pretensions will be scattered, so many rights re-established, so many evils reformed, of those States-General, in short, through which the monarch himself desires that France should regenerate herself.

For myself, who, in my public career, have had no other fear but that of wrong-doing,— who, girt with my conscience and armed with my principles, would brave the universe,— whether it shall be my fortune to serve you with my voice and my exertions in the National Assembly, or whether I shall be enabled to aid you there with my prayers only, be sure that the vain clamors, the wrathful menaces, the injurious protestations,— all the convulsions, in a word, of expiring prejudices,— shall not intimidate me! What! shall he now pause in his civic course, who, first among all the men of France, emphatically proclaimed his opinions on national affairs, at a time when circumstances were much less urgent than now, and the task one of much greater peril?

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Never! No measure of outrages shall bear down my patience. I have been, I am, I shall be, even to the tomb, the man of the public liberty, the man of the Constitution. If to be such be to become the man of the people rather than of the nobles, then woe to the privileged orders! For privileges shall have an end, but the people is eternal!

AGAINST THE ESTABLISHMENT OF RELIGION

(From an Address in the Constituent Assembly)

We are reproached with having refused to decree that the Catholic religion, Apostolic and Roman, is the national religion. To declare the Christian religion national would be to dishonor it in its most intimate and essential characteristic. In general terms, it may be said that religion is not, and cannot be, a relation between the individual man and society. It is a relation between him and the Infinite Being. Would you understand what was meant by a national conscience? Religion is no more national than conscience. A man is not veritably religious in so far as he is attached to the religion of a nation. If there were but one religion in the world, and all men were agreed in professing it, it would be none the less true that each would have the sincere sentiment of religion so far only as he should be himself religious with a religion of his own; that is to say, so far only as he would be wedded to that universal religion, even though the whole human race were to abjure it. And so, from whatever point we consider religion, to term it national is to give it a designation insignificant or absurd.

Would it be as the arbiter of its truth, or as the judge of its aptitude to form good citizens, that the legislature would make a religion constitutional? But, in the first place, are there national truths? In the second place, can it be ever useful to the public happiness to fetter the conscience of men by a law of the State? The law unites us only in those points where adhesion is essential to social organization. Those points belong only to the superficies of our being. In thought and conscience men remain isolated; and their association leaves to them, in these respects, the absolute freedom of the state of nature.

What a spectacle would it be for those early Christians, who, to escape the sword of persecution, were obliged to consecrate

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their altars in caves or amid ruins,—what a spectacle would it be for them, could they this day come among us and witness the glory with which their despised religion now sees itself environed; the temples, the lofty steeples bearing aloft the glittering emblem of their faith—the evangelic cross which crowns the summit of all the departments of this great empire! What a transporting sight for those who, in descending to the tomb, had seen that religion, during their lives, honored only in the lurking-places of the forest and the desert! Methinks I hear them exclaim, even as that stranger of the old time exclaimed, on beholding the encampment of the people of God: "How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob, and thy tabernacles, O Israel!"

Calm, then, ah! calm your apprehensions, ye ministers of the God of peace and truth. Blush rather at your incendiary exaggerations, and no longer look at the action of this Assembly through the medium of your passions. We do not ask it of you to take an oath contrary to the law of your heart; but we do ask it of you, in the name of that God who will judge us all, not to confound human opinions and scholastic traditions with the sacred and inviolable rules of the Gospel. If it be contrary to morality to act against one's conscience, it is none the less so to form one's conscience after false and arbitrary principles. The obligation to form and enlighten one's conscience is anterior to the obligation to follow one's conscience. The greatest public calamities have been caused by men who believed they were obeying God, and saving their own souls.

ANNOUNCING THE DEATH OF FRANKLIN

(Delivered in the French Assembly, June 11th, 1790)

FRANKLIN is dead! Restored to the bosom of the Divinity is that genius which gave freedom to America, and rayed forth torrents of light upon Europe. The sage whom two worlds claim—the man whom the history of empires and the history of science alike contend for—occupied, it cannot be denied, a lofty rank among his species. Long enough have political cabinets signalized the death of those who were great in their funeral eulogies only. Long enough has the etiquette of courts prescribed hypocritical mournings. For their benefactors

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only should nations assume the emblem of grief; and the representatives of nations should commend only the heroes of humanity to public veneration.

We live under a form of government and in a state of society to which the world has never yet exhibited a parallel. Is it then nothing to be free? How many nations in the whole annals of humankind have proved themselves worthy of being so? Is it nothing that we are republicans? Were all men as enlightened, as brave, as proud as they ought to be, would they suffer themselves to be insulted with any other title? Is it nothing that so many independent sovereignties should be held together in such a confederacy as ours? What does history teach us of the difficulty of instituting and maintaining such a polity, and of the glory that, of consequence, ought to be given to those who enjoy its advantages in so much perfection and on so grand a scale? For can anything be more striking and sublime than the idea of an imperial republic, spreading over an extent of territory more immense than the empire of the Cæsars, in the accumulated conquests of a thousand years — without prefects, or proconsuls, or publicans — founded in the maxims of common sense — employing within itself no arms but those of reason — and known to its subjects only by the blessings it bestows or perpetuates, yet capable of directing against a foreign foe all the energies of a military despotism — a republic in which men are completely insignificant, and principles and laws exercise, throughout its vast dominion, a peaceful and irresistible sway, blending in one divine harmony such various habits and conflicting opinions, and mingling in our institutions the light of philosophy with all that is dazzling in the associations of heroic achievement, and extended domination, and deep-seated and formidable power!

«REASON IMMUTABLE AND SOVEREIGN»

(Delivered on the Refusal of the Chamber of Vacations of Rennes to Obey the Decrees of the National Assembly, January 9th, 1790)

When, during our session yesterday, those words which you have taught Frenchmen to unlearn — orders, privileges — fell on my ears; when a private corporation of one of the Provinces of this Empire spoke to you of the impossibility of consenting to the execution of your decrees, sanctioned by the

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King; when certain magistrates declared to you that their conscience and their honor forbade their obedience to your laws, I said to myself: Are these, then, dethroned sovereigns, who, in a transport of imprudent, but generous pride, are addressing successful usurpers? No; these are men whose arrogant pretensions have too long been an insult to all ideas of social order; champions, even more interested than audacious, of a system which has cost France centuries of oppression, public and private, political and fiscal, feudal and judicial, and whose hope is to make us regret and revive that system. The people of Brittany have sent among you sixty-six representatives, who assure you that the new Constitution crowns all their wishes; and here come eleven judges of the Province, who cannot consent that you should be the benefactors of their country. They have disobeyed your laws; and they pride themselves on their disobedience, and believe it will make their names honored by posterity. No, gentlemen, the remembrance of their folly will not pass to posterity. What avail their pigmy efforts to brace themselves against the progress of a revolution the grandest and most glorious in the world's history, and one that must infallibly change the face of the globe and the lot of humanity? Strange presumption that would arrest liberty in its course and roll back the destinies of a great nation!

It is not to antiquated transactions,—it is not to musty treaties, wherein fraud combined with force to chain men to the car of certain haughty masters,—that the National Assembly have resorted, in their investigations into popular rights. The titles we offer are more imposing by far; ancient as time, sacred and imprescriptible as nature! What! Must the terms of the marriage contract of one Anne of Brittany make the people of that Province slaves to the nobles till the consummation of the ages? These refractory magistrates speak of the statutes which "immutably fix our powers of legislation." Immutably fix! Oh, how that word tears the veil from their innermost thoughts! How would they like to have abuses immutable upon the earth, and evil eternal! Indeed, what is lacking to their felicity but the perpetuity of that feudal scourge, which unhappily has lasted only six centuries? But it is in vain that they rage. All now is changed or changing. There is nothing immutable save reason—save the sovereignty of the people—save the inviolability of its decrees!

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JUSTIFYING REVOLUTION

(Delivered in Reply to Those Who Denied the National Assembly the Authority of a National Convention, April 19th, 1790)

IT IS with difficulty, gentlemen, that I can repress an emotion of indignation, when I hear hostile rhetoricians continually oppose the nation to the National Assembly, and endeavor to excite a sort of rivalry between them. As if it were not through the National Assembly that the nation had recognized, recovered, reconquered its rights! As if it were not through the National Assembly that the French had, in truth, become a nation! As if, surrounded by the monuments of our labors, our dangers, our services, we could become suspected by the people — formidable to the liberties of the people! As if the regards of two worlds upon you fixed, as if the spectacle of your glory, as if the gratitude of so many millions, as if the very pride of a generous conscience, which would have to blush too deeply to belie itself, — were not a sufficient guarantee of your fidelity, of your patriotism, of your virtue!

Commissioned to form a Constitution for France, I will not ask whether, with that authority, we did not receive also the power to do all that was necessary to complete, establish, and confirm that Constitution. I will not ask: Ought we to have lost in pusillanimous consultations the time of action, while nascent liberty would have received her deathblow? But if gentlemen insist on demanding when and how, from simple deputies of bailiwicks, we became all at once transformed into a national convention, I reply: It was on that day, when, finding the hall where we were to assemble closed, and bristling and polluted with bayonets, we resorted to the first place where we could reunite, to swear to perish rather than submit to such an order of things! That day, if we were not a national convention, we became one; became one for the destruction of arbitrary power and for the defense of the rights of the nation from all violence. The strivings of despotism which we have quelled, the perils which we have averted, the violence which we have repressed,— these are our titles! Our successes have consecrated them; the adhesion, so often renewed, of all parts of the Empire, has legitimized and sanctified them. Summoned to its task by the irresistible tocsin of necessity, our national convention is above all imitation, as it

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is above all authority. It is accountable only to itself, and can be judged only by posterity.

Gentlemen, you all remember the instance of that Roman, who, to save his country from a dangerous conspiracy, had been constrained to overstep the powers conferred on him by the laws. A captious tribune exacted of him the oath that he had respected those laws; hoping, by this insidious demand, to drive the consul to the alternative of perjury or of an embarrassing avowal. "Swear," said the tribune, "that you have observed the laws." "I swear," replied the great man,—"I swear that I have saved the Republic." Gentlemen, I swear that you have saved France!

HIS DEFENSE OF HIMSELF

(Delivered on Being Suspected of an Alliance with the Court, May 22d, 1790)

IT WOULD be an important step towards the reconciliation of political opponents if they would clearly signify on what points they agree, and on what they differ. To this end, friendly discussions avail more, far more, than calumnious insinuations, furious invectives, the acerbities of partisan rivalry, the machinations of intrigue and malevolence. For eight days now it has been given out that those members of the National Assembly in favor of the provision requiring the concurrence of the royal will for the exercise of the right of peace and war are parricides of the public liberty. Rumors of perfidy, of corruption, have been bruited. Popular vengeance has been invoked to enforce the tyranny of opinion; and denunciations have been uttered, as if, on a subject involving one of the most delicate and difficult questions affecting the organization of society, persons could not dissent without a crime. What strange madness, what deplorable infatuation, is this, which thus incites against one another men whom—let debate run never so high—one common object, one indestructible sentiment of patriotism, ought always to bring together, always to re-unite; but who thus substitute, alas! the irascibility of self-love for devotion to the public good, and give one another over, without compunction, to the hatred and distrust of the people!

And me, too—me, but the other day, they would have borne in triumph; and now they cry in the streets: The great treason of the Count of Mirabeau! I needed not this lesson to teach me

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how short the distance from the capitol to the Tarpeian Rock! But the man who battles for reason, for country, does not so easily admit that he is vanquished. He who has the consciousness that he deserves well of that country, and, above all, that he is still able to serve her; who disdains a vain celebrity, and prizes true glory above the successes of the day; who would speak the truth, and labor for the public weal, independently of the fluctuations of popular opinion,—such a man carries in his own breast the recompense of his services, the solace of his pains, the reward of his dangers. The harvest he looks for—the destiny, the only destiny, to which he aspires—is that of his good name; and for that he is content to trust to time,—to time, that incorruptible judge, who dispenses justice to all.

Let those who, for these eight days past, have been ignorantly predicting my opinion,—who, at this moment, calumniate my discourse without comprehending it,—let them charge me, if they will, with beginning to offer incense to the impotent idols I have overturned—with being the vile stipendiary of men whom I have never ceased to combat; let them denounce as an enemy of the Revolution him who at least has contributed so much to its cause that his safety, if not his glory, lies in its support; let them deliver over to the rage of a deceived people him who for twenty years has warred against oppression in all its forms,—who spoke to Frenchmen of liberty, of a Constitution, of resistance, at a time when his vile calumniators were sucking the milk of courts,—living on those dominant abuses which he denounced. What matters it? These underhand attacks shall not stop me in my career. I will say to my traducers: Answer if you can, and then calumniate to your heart's content! And now I re-enter the lists, armed only with my principles and a steadfast conscience.

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JAMES MONROE

(1758–1831)

JAMES MONROE'S address on 'Federal Experiments in History,' delivered in the Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1788, was an argument in favor of federal union, but against the Constitution submitted by the Philadelphia Convention. Aside from the opinions it expresses, it has a permanent historical value. Monroe was born in Westmoreland County, Virginia, April 28th, 1758. After service in the Continental Army, he was elected to the Virginia Assembly and to Congress, where he served in both the House of Representatives and the Senate. Between 1794 and 1815 he was United States Minister to France, Governor of Virginia, one of the negotiators of the Louisiana Purchase, United States Minister to Great Britain, Secretary of State, and Secretary of War. In 1816 he became fifth President of the United States. His administration of eight years is known as the "Era of Good Feeling," and is memorable because of the adoption of the policy recommended by him and known as the "Monroe Doctrine," under which the intervention of European powers in the affairs of any American Republic is declared "the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States." Monroe died at New York, July 4th, 1831.

"FEDERAL EXPERIMENTS IN HISTORY"

(From the Speech Delivered in the Virginia Constitutional Convention, June 10th, 1788)

Mr. Chairman:—

I CANNOT avoid expressing the great anxiety which I feel upon the present occasion—an anxiety that proceeds not only from a high sense of the importance of the subject, but from a profound respect for this august and venerable assembly. When we contemplate the fate that has befallen other nations, whether we cast our eyes back into the remotest ages of antiquity, or derive instruction from those examples which modern times have presented to our view, and observe how prone all human institutions have been to decay; how subject the best-

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formed and most wisely organized governments have been to lose their checks and totally dissolve; how difficult it has been for mankind, in all ages and countries, to preserve their dearest rights and best privileges, impelled, as it were, by an irresistible fate of despotism; — if we look forward to those prospects that sooner or later await our country, unless we shall be exempted from the fate of other nations, even upon a mind the most sanguine and benevolent some gloomy apprehensions must necessarily crowd. This consideration is sufficient to teach us the limited capacity of the human mind — how subject the wisest men have been to error. For my own part, sir, I come forward here, not as the partisan of this or that side of the question, but to commend where the subject appears to me to deserve commendation; to suggest my doubts where I have any; to hear with candor the explanation of others; and, in the ultimate result, to act as shall appear for the best advantage of our common country.

The American States exhibit at present a new and interesting spectacle to the eyes of mankind. Modern Europe, for more than twelve centuries past, has presented to view one of a very different kind. In all the nations of that quarter of the globe, there has been a constant effort, on the part of the people, to extricate themselves from the oppression of their rulers; but with us the object is of a very different nature: to establish the dominion of law over licentiousness; to increase the powers of the national government to such extent, and organize it in such manner, as to enable it to discharge its duties and manage the affairs of the States to the best advantage. There are two circumstances remarkable in our colonial settlement: first, the exclusive monopoly of our trade; second, that it was settled by the Commons of England only. The revolution, in having emancipated us from the shackles of Great Britain, has put the entire government in the hands of one order of people only — freemen; not of nobles and freemen. This is a peculiar trait in the character of this revolution. That this sacred deposit may be always retained there, is my most earnest wish and fervent prayer. That union is the first object for the security of our political happiness, in the hands of gracious Providence, is well understood and universally admitted through all the United States. From New Hampshire to Georgia (Rhode Island excepted), the people have uniformly manifested a strong attachment to the Union.

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This attachment has resulted from a persuasion of its utility and necessity. In short, this is a point so well known that it is needless to trespass on your patience any longer about it. A recurrence has been had to history. Ancient and modern leagues have been mentioned, to make impressions. Will they admit of any analogy with our situation? The same principles will produce the same effects. Permit me to take a review of those leagues which the honorable gentleman has mentioned; which are, first, the Amphictyonic Council; second, the Achæan League; third, the Germanic system; fourth, the Swiss cantons; fifth, the United Netherlands; and, sixth, the New England confederacy. Before I develop the principles of these leagues, permit me to speak of what must influence the happiness and duration of leagues. These principles depend on the following circumstances: first, the happy construction of the government of the members of the union; second, the security from foreign danger. For instance, monarchies united would separate soon; aristocracies would preserve their union longer; but democracies, unless separated by some extraordinary circumstance, would last forever. The causes of half the wars that have thinned the ranks of mankind, and depopulated nations, are caprice, folly, and ambition; these belong to the higher orders of governments, where the passions of one, or of a few individuals, direct the fate of the rest of the community. But it is otherwise with democracies, where there is an equality among the citizens, and a foreign and powerful enemy, especially a monarch, may crush weaker neighbors. Let us see how far these positions are supported by the history of these leagues, and how far they apply to us. The Amphictyonic Council consisted of three members — Sparta, Thebes, and Athens. What was the construction of these States? Sparta was a monarchy more analogous to the Constitution of England than any I have heard of in modern times. Thebes was a democracy, but on different principles from modern democracies. Representation was not known then. This is the acquirement of modern times. Athens, like Thebes, was generally democratic, but sometimes changed. In these two States the people transacted their business in person; consequently, they could not be of any great extent. There was a perpetual variance between the members of this confederacy, and its ultimate dissolution was attributed to this defect. The weakest were obliged to call for foreign aid, and this precipitated the ruin of this confederacy. The Achæan League had

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more analogy to ours, and gives me great hopes that the apprehensions of gentlemen with respect to our confederacy are groundless. They were all democratic, and firmly united. What was the effect? The most perfect harmony and friendship subsisted among them, and they were very active in guarding their liberties. The history of that confederacy does not present us with those confusions and internal convulsions which gentlemen ascribe to all governments of a confederate kind. The most respectable historians prove this confederacy to have been exempt from these defects. . . . This league was founded on democratical principles, and, from the wisdom of its structure, continued a far greater length of time than any other. Its members, like our States, by their confederation, retained their individual sovereignty and enjoyed perfect equality. What destroyed it? Not internal dissensions. They were surrounded by great and powerful nations — the Lacedæmonians, Macedonians, and Ætolians. The Ætolians and Lacedæmonians making war on them, they solicited the assistance of Macedon, who no sooner granted it than she became their possessor. To free themselves from the tyranny of the Macedonians, they prayed succor from the Romans, who, after relieving them from their oppressors, soon totally enslaved them.

The Germanic body is a league of independent principalities. It has no analogy to our system. It is very injudiciously organized. Its members are kept together by the fear of danger from one another, and from foreign powers, and by the influence of the Emperor.

The Swiss cantons have been instanced, also, as a proof of the natural imbecility of federal governments. Their league has sustained a variety of changes; and, notwithstanding the many causes that tend to disunite them, they still stand firm. We have not the same causes of disunion or internal variance that they have. The individual cantons composing the league are chiefly aristocratic. What an opportunity does this offer to foreign powers to disturb them by bribing and corrupting their aristocrats! It is well known that their services have been frequently purchased by foreign nations. Their difference of religion has been a source of divisions and animosity among them, and tended to disunite them. This tendency has been considerably increased by the interference of foreign nations, the contiguity of their position to those nations rendering such interference easy. They

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have been kept together by the fear of those nations, and the nature of their association; the leading features of which are a principle of equality between the cantons, and the retention of individual sovereignty. The same reasoning applies nearly to the United Netherlands. The other confederacy which has been mentioned has no kind of analogy to our situation.

From a review of these leagues, we find the causes of the misfortunes of those which have been dissolved to have been a dissimilarity of structure in the individual members, the facility of foreign interference, and recurrence to foreign aid. After this review of those leagues, if we consider our comparative situation, we shall find that nothing can be adduced from any of them to warrant a departure from a confederacy to a consolidation, on the principle of inefficacy in the former to secure our happiness. The causes which, with other nations, rendered leagues ineffectual and inadequate to the security and happiness of the people, do not exist here. What is the form of our State governments? They are all similar in their structure — perfectly democratic. The freedom of mankind has found an asylum here which it could find nowhere else. Freedom of conscience is enjoyed here in the fullest degree. Our States are not disturbed by a contrariety of religious opinions and other causes of quarrels which other nations have. They have no causes of internal variance. Causes of war between the States have been represented in all those terrors which splendid genius and brilliant imagination can so well depict. But, sir, I conceive they are imaginary, — mere creatures of fancy.

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COMTE DE MONTALEMBERT

(CHARLES FORBES DE MONTALEMBERT)

(1810–1870)

THOROUGHLY sympathizing with Lamennais and Lacordaire in their desire to make the Catholic Church the leader of nineteenth-century progress, Montalembert began his career as an orator at the age of twenty-one, as a champion of freedom of education, defending himself before the French Chamber of Peers. At that time the attempt was made in France to establish strict government regulations of all schools, public and private. Montalembert joined with others in establishing an unauthorized school in order to compel public attention to the injustice and impolicy of the system. He expected to be arrested and was arrested for his offense against the statute. Becoming one of the peers of France on the death of his father, he was tried before the Chamber of Peers where he delivered the first of the speeches which made him celebrated. The work of his life was the attempt to reconcile liberty and authority in State and in Church. He was born May 29th, 1810, and died March 13th, 1870, after a life of the highest and most beneficent activity as an orator, pamphleteer, and historian.

FOR FREEDOM OF EDUCATION

(From an Address Delivered before the Chamber of Peers in Paris in 1831, when Montalembert (Aged Twenty-One) Was Arrested with Lacordaire for Teaching an Unauthorized School)

I KNOW that by myself I am nothing. I am but as a child; and I feel myself so young, so inexperienced, so obscure, that nothing less than the recollection of the great cause of which I am here the humble champion could encourage me. But I am happy in possessing a recollection of words pronounced for the same cause in this very place by my father. And I am sustained by the conviction that this is a question of life and death for the majority of Frenchmen,—for twenty-five millions who hold the same religious faith as myself; and by the unanimous

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cry of France for freedom of teaching; and by the written wishes of those fifteen thousand Frenchmen whose petition we have ourselves carried to the other Chamber; and by the rights of thousands of families whose offspring are springing up in a region which arbitrary legislation has made a desert;—in one word, by the image of a cruel past to atone for, and an invaluable future to assert, and, above all, by the name I bear,—that name which is as great as the world, the name of Catholic. I have all these principles to sustain me when I thus appear before you; and I require to remind myself of these great arguments, not only to give me courage, but to convince my judges that I have not been guided in what I have done by any inspiration of vanity, or any thirst for distinction. It is sufficiently well known that the career on which I have entered is not of a nature to satisfy an ambition which seeks political honors and places. The powers of the present age, both in government and in opposition, are, by the grace of heaven, equally hostile to Catholics. There is another ambition not less devouring, perhaps not less culpable, which aspires to reputation, and which is content to buy that at any price; that, too, I disavow like the other. No one can be more conscious than I am of the disadvantages with which a precocious publicity surrounds youth, and none can fear them more. But there is still in the world something which is called faith,—it is not dead in all minds; it is to this that I have early given my heart and my life. My life—a man's life—is always, and especially to-day, a poor thing enough; but this poor thing, consecrated to a great and holy cause, may grow with it; and when a man has made to such a cause the sacrifice of his future, I believe that he ought to shrink from none of its consequences, none of its dangers.

It is in the strength of this conviction that I appear to-day for the first time in an assembly of men. I know too well that at my age one has neither antecedents nor experience; but at my age, as at every other, one has duties and hopes. I have determined, for my part, to be faithful to both.

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DEVOTION TO FREEDOM

(From a Speech Delivered in the French Chamber of Peers, in January 1848, on the Troubles in Switzerland)

I HOLD for my part that the conflict in Switzerland has not been against the Jesuits, nor for and against the sovereignty of cantons. The battle has been against you, and for you. That is to say, a wild, intolerant, unregulated, and hypocritical liberty has combated that true, sincere, orderly, tolerant, and lawful freedom of which you are the representatives and defenders in the world. What was in question on the other side of the Jura was neither the Jesuits nor the independence of cantons; it was order, European peace, the security of the world and of France; and these have been vanquished, smothered, crushed, at our very doors, by men who ask no better than to throw the burning brands of discord, anarchy, and war from the Alps and the Jura into our midst. Thus I do not speak for the vanquished, but to the vanquished, vanquished myself,—that is to say, to the representatives of social order, rule, and liberalism which have just been overcome in Switzerland and which are threatened throughout Europe by a new invasion of the barbarians. . . .

Last year at this time, about this same day, I denounced at this tribune, in the midst of the marks of your sympathy and indulgence, a similar crime, the incorporation and confiscation of Cracovia; and to-day I am again called upon to denounce an unworthy violation, not only of the right of treaties, of that political right which I respect and esteem, but of a right superior to all others, the right of men, of nature, and of humanity, if I may use an expression common to the present time. The crime is the same to my eyes. Last year the last remnant of the Polish nation was in question; this year it is the cradle of European freedom which is the victim of a similar attack. But last year the attempt was made by absolute monarchies, and this year it is committed by pretended Liberals, who at bottom are tyrants of the worst class. What we have witnessed was the same then as now—the abuse of force, the suffocation of liberty and right by brutal and impious violence—the violence of pledged faith, the reign of the greater number, the assumption by Force of Falsehood as its arms and attire. . . .

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There is, however, when I consider these two crimes, a difference which I cannot here indicate. The crime of last year, a crime of force, was committed in the name of force. This year the crime is that of despotism, with the addition of hypocrisy, for it is committed in the name of freedom. To my eyes, this odious lie aggravates the offense, and makes it ten times more worthy of your indignation and contempt.

Believe me, gentlemen, I do not come here to complain of religious or Catholic grievances. Yes, Catholicism has been assailed in Switzerland, as all the world knows; but all the world knows also that the wounds and defeats of religion are never incurable or irreparable, and that at bottom her business is to be wounded, persecuted, and oppressed. She suffers, but only for a time. She is soon healed and raised up — and out of these trials issues continually more radiant and stronger than ever. But do you know what it is which does not recover so easily, and which cannot with impunity be exposed to such attacks? It is order, peace, and, above all, freedom. This is the cause which I come to plead before you.

Let no one say, as certain generous but blind spirits have said, that radicalism is the exaggeration of liberalism; no, it is its antipodes, its extreme opposite. Radicalism is nothing more than an exaggeration of despotism; and never had despotism taken a more odious form. Liberty is reasonable and voluntary toleration; radicalism is the absolute intolerance, which is arrested only by the impossible. Liberty imposes unusual sacrifices on none; radicalism cannot put up with a thought, a word, even a prayer, contrary to its will. Liberty consecrates the right of minorities; radicalism absorbs and annihilates them. To say everything in one word, liberty is respect for mankind, while radicalism is scorn of mankind pushed to its highest degree. No; never Muscovite despot, never Eastern tyrant, has despised his fellows as they are despised by those radical clubbists, who gag their vanquished adversaries in the name of liberty and equality!

No man can have more right than I have to proclaim this distinction, for I defy any man to love liberty more than I have done. And here it must be said, I do not accept, either as a reproach or as praise, the opinion expressed of me by the minister for foreign affairs, that I was exclusively devoted to religious liberty. No, no, gentlemen; that to which I am devoted

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is liberty itself, the liberty of all and in everything. This I have always defended, always proclaimed; I who have written so much, spoken so much,—too much, I acknowledge,—I defy any man to find a single word fallen from my pen or from my lips which has not been devoted to the cause of freedom. Freedom: ah! I can speak without seeking fine expressions. She has been the idol of my soul; if I have anything to reproach myself with, it is that I have loved her too much, that I have loved her as one loves when one is young, without measure, without limit. But I neither reproach myself for this, nor do I regret it; I will continue to serve Freedom, to love her always, to believe in her always; and I can never love her more nor serve her better than when I force myself to pluck off the mask worn by her enemies, who wear her colors and who seize her flag in order to soil and dishonor it!

«DEO ET CÆSARI FIDELIS»

(From a Speech in 1849 to the Breton Electors at Saint-Brieuc)

I HAVE labored for nearly twenty years to make a reconciliation between religion and liberty, which had been separated by a fatal misunderstanding. Now that this is happily and irrevocably consummated, I desire to dedicate myself to another reconciliation, to another union—to the union of men of honor and feeling (*hommes de cœur et d'honneur*), of all opinions in that one great honest moderate party which is the strength and safety of France. In all the ancient parties there are men capable of understanding each other, of appreciating each other, and of fighting side by side against the common enemy. We must regulate and discipline this union, of which the recent election in the Côtes-du-Nord has been the expression, and the present government the result. The government, in harmony with the majority of the National Assembly, has constantly defended, and continues daily to defend, three great and holy things, . . . religion, property, and family rights. We are told that these are commonplaces. Do not believe it, gentlemen. They are only commonplaces when the foundations of social order cease to be threatened or undermined by minorities which are sometimes audacious and sometimes hypocritical. The government which we have supported has rendered signal service to all three. To

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religion, by replacing the Sovereign Pontiff upon his throne, and by disengaging the French Republic from all connection with a republic of assassins. To property, by maintaining all acquired rights; by confirming the permanency of the magistracy, the guardian of laws and contracts; and by repealing all subversive innovations. And, finally, to the family, by that law on education which you will pardon my reference to, because it is the object of my constant solicitude, and because it is at present exposed to the injurious criticism of the discontented and exaggerated of all parties. I am neither its author nor its responsible promulgator, but I defend it because it offers the basis of an excellent compromise, of an honorable peace for all. I have fought long, and more than any other, for this great cause; but I fought only with the hope of arriving at a worthy and fruitful peace, in which the right alone should have the victory, and in which no man should be humiliated.

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JAMES MONTGOMERY

(1776–1854)

JAMES MONTGOMERY, though more celebrated as a poet than for his eloquence, delivered in 1830 and 1831 a series of addresses on 'General Literature and Poetry,' which, even if their highest excellence is not always sustained, contain many passages which are models of English prose worthy to rank with the literary addresses of Peel and Macaulay. He was born in Ayreshire, Scotland, November 4th, 1776. He began his literary career in the office of the Sheffield Register in 1792. The first poems which made him any considerable reputation were published in 1806. Other works were published: 'The West Indies,' in 1810; 'The World before the Flood,' in 1812; 'Greenland,' in 1819; 'Pelican Island,' in 1826; and his 'Addresses before the Royal Institution,' in 1833. He died April 30th, 1854.

MODERN ENGLISH LITERATURE

(From 'Addresses on General Literature and Poetry,' Delivered at the Royal Institution in 1830 and 1831)

THE discovery of the mariner's compass, the invention of printing, the revival of classic learning, the Reformation, with all the great moral, commercial, political, and intellectual consequences of these new means, materials, and motives for action and thought, produced corresponding effects upon literature and science. With the progress of the former alone, in our own country, have we to do at present.

From the reign of Elizabeth to the protectorate of Cromwell, inclusively, there rose in phalanx, and continued in succession, minds of all orders, and hands for all work, in poetry, philosophy, history, and theology, which have bequeathed to posterity such treasures of what may be called genuine English literature, that whatever may be the transmigrations of taste, the revolutions of style, and the fashions in popular reading, these will ever be the sterling standards. The translation of the Scriptures, settled by

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authority, and which, for reasons that need not be discussed here, can never be materially changed,—consequently can never become obsolete,—has secured perpetuity to the youth of the English tongue; and whatever may befall the works of writers in it from other causes, they are not likely to be antiquated in the degree that has been foretold by one whose own imperishable strains would for centuries have delayed the fulfillment of his disheartening prophecy, even if it were to be fulfilled:—

> "Our sons their fathers' failing language see,
> And such as Chaucer is shall Dryden be."

Now it is clear that unless the language be improved or deteriorated far beyond anything that can be anticipated from the slight variations which have taken place within the last two hundred years, compared with the two hundred years preceding, Dryden cannot become what Chaucer is; especially since there seems to be a necessity laid upon all generations of Englishmen to understand, as the fathers of their mother tongue, the great authors of the age of Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I.: from Spenser (though much of his poetry is willfully obscured by affected phraseology) and Shakespeare (the idolatry to whose name will surely never permit its divinity to die) to Milton, whose style cannot fall into decay while there is talent or sensibility among his countrymen to appreciate his writings. It may be confidently inferred that the English language will remain subject to as little mutation as the Italian has been since works of enduring excellence were first produced in it; the prose of Boccaccio and the verse of Dante, so far as dialect is concerned, are as well understood by the common people of their country, at this day, as the writings of Chaucer and Gower are by the learned in ours.

Had no works of transcendent originality been produced within the last hundred and fifty years, it may be imagined that such fluctuations might have occurred as would have rendered our language as different from what it was when Milton flourished, as it then was from what it had been in the days of Chaucer; with this reverse, that, during the latter, it must have degenerated as much as it had been refined during the earlier interval. But the standard of our tongue having been fixed at an era when it was rich in native idioms, full of pristine vigor, and pliable almost as much as sound articulate can be to sense,—and that standard having been fixed in poetry, the most permanent and

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perfect of all forms of literature,—as well as in the version of the Scriptures which are necessarily the most popular species of reading,—no very considerable changes can be affected, except Britain were again exposed to invasion as it was wont to be of old; and the modern Saxons or Norwegians were thus to subvert both our government and our language, and either utterly extinguish the latter, or assimilate it with their own.

Contemporary with Milton, though his junior, and belonging to a subsequent era of literature, of which he became the great luminary and master-spirit, was Dryden. His prose (not less admirable than his verse), in its structure and cadence, in compass of expression, and general freedom from cumbersome pomp, pedantic restraint, and vicious quaintness, which more or less characterized his predecessors, became the favorite model in that species of composition which was happily followed and highly improved by Addison, Johnson, and other periodical writers of the last century. These, to whom must be added the triumvirate of British historians, Hume, Robertson, and Gibbon, who exemplified, in their very dissimilar styles, the triple contrast and harmony of simplicity, elegance, and splendor,—these illustrious names in prose are so many pledges that the language in which they immortalized their thoughts is itself immortalized by being made the vehicle of these, and can never become barbarian like Chaucer's uncouth, rugged, incongruous medley of sounds, which are as remote from the strength, volubility, and precision of those employed by his polished successors as the imperfect lispings of infancy before it has learned to pronounce half the alphabet, and imitates the letters which it cannot pronounce, with those which it can, are to the clear, and round, and eloquent intonations of youth, when the voice and the ear are perfectly formed and attuned to each other. . . .

If the literature of the Middle Ages were principally composed of crude, enormous, indigestible masses, fitted only to monkish appetites, that could gorge iron like ostriches, when iron was cast into the shape of thought, or thought assumed the nature of iron, the literature of the present day is entirely the reverse, and so are all the circumstances connected with it. Then there were few readers, and fewer writers; now there are many of both; and among those that really deserve the name of the former, it would be difficult to ascertain the relative proportion of the latter, for most of them in one way or another might be classed with

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writers. The vehicles, opportunities, and temptations of publishing are so frequent, so easy and inexpensive, that a man can scarcely be connected with intelligent society, without being seduced, in some frail moment, to try how his thoughts will look in print: then, for a second or two at least, he feels as the greatest genius in the world feels on the same occasion, *laudum immensa cupido*, a longing after immortality that mounts into a hope — a hope that becomes a conviction of the power of realizing itself in all the glory of ideal reality, than which no actual reality ever afterward is half so enchantingly enjoyed.

Hence the literature of our time is commensurate with the universality of education; nor is it less various than universal to meet capacities of all sizes, minds of all acquirements, and tastes of every degree. Books are multiplied on every subject on which anything or nothing can be said, from the most abstruse and recondite to the most simple and puerile: and while the passion of book jobbers is to make the former as familiar as the latter by royal ways to all the sciences, there is an equally perverse rage among genuine authors to make the latter as august and imposing as the former, by disguising commonplace topics with the coloring of imagination, and adorning the most insignificant themes with all the pomp of verse. This degradation of the high, an exaltation of the low, this dislocation, in fact, of everything, is one of the most striking proofs of the extraordinary diffusion of knowledge,—and of its corruption too,—if not a symptom of its declension by being so heterogeneously blended, till all shall be neutralized. Indeed, when millions of intellects, of as many different dimensions and as many different degrees of culture, are perpetually at work, and it is almost as easy to speak as to think, and to write as to speak, there must be a proportionate quantity of thought put into circulation.

Meanwhile, public taste, pampered with delicacies even to loathing, and stimulated to stupidity with excessive excitement, is at once ravenous and mawkish — gratified with nothing but novelty, nor with novelty itself for more than an hour. To meet this diseased appetite, in prose not less than in verse, a factitious kind of the marvelous has been invented, consisting, not in the exhibition of supernatural incidents or heroes, but in such distortion, high coloring, and exaggeration of natural incidents and ordinary personages, by the artifices of style and the audacity of sentiment employed upon them, as shall produce that sensation

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of wonder in which half-instructed minds delight. This preposterous effort at display may be traced through every walk of polite literature, and in every channel of publication; nay, it would hardly be venturing too far to say that every popular author is occasionally a juggler, rope-dancer, or posture-maker, in this way, to propitiate those of his readers who will be pleased with nothing less than feats of legerdemain in the exercises of the pen.

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DWIGHT L. MOODY

(1837–)

MR. MOODY is one of the most effective extemporaneous speakers of his generation. Knowing nothing of rhetoric and attempting none of the graces of expression, he speaks directly to the hearts of his audience that which comes most freely from his own. Before a severely critical audience of merely intellectual people, he might be a failure; but wherever earnestness is respected and the ability which it gives is recognized, he never fails to compel admiration and sympathy, even if he does not overcome dissent. Always more anxious to help others than to magnify himself, he has had perhaps a direct personal influence on others greater than any other evangelist of his generation. He was born at Northfield, Massachusetts, February 5th, 1837. His work as an evangelist began in Chicago about 1856, but it was not until the series of revivals which he conducted in association with Ira D. Sankey, between 1873 and 1883, in the United States and Great Britain, that he became celebrated. He has used his great influence as an evangelist to build up such religious and educational institutions as the Bible Institute founded by him in Chicago, the School of Christian Workers at Northfield, and The Young Men's Christian Association.

ON DANIEL AND THE VALUE OF CHARACTER

(From a Sermon Delivered January 21st, 1880)

OH, YOUNG man, character is worth more than money, character is worth more than anything else in this wide world. I would rather have it said of me in my old age than to have a monument of pure gold built over my dead body reaching from earth to heaven,—I would rather have it said that "they could find no occasion against him except it be touching the law of his God," than to have all this world can give.

Daniel commenced to shine in his early manhood, and he shone right along. Now he is an old man—an old statesman, and yet this is their testimony: There was no giving up of principle for votes; no buying of men's votes; no counting in or

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counting out. There was none of that. He had walked right straight along. He had been upright, and they could find no occasion against him "except it be touching the law of his God."

. . . . . .

How many men there are in this audience that are ashamed to be caught on their knees! There is many a man who, if found upon his knees by the wife of his bosom, will jump right up and walk around the room as if he hadn't any particular object in view. Don't laugh at yourselves; be careful about that. There is many a man who hasn't got the moral courage to get down upon his knees to pray; he is ashamed to do it. How many young men have come up to the city and have had roommates that they were ashamed to pray before; how many young men have been ashamed to do this and have let down at the start because they were ashamed to pray; they hadn't the moral courage to be seen on their knees. Ah, the fact is, we are a pack of cowards — that's what we are! Shame on the Christianity of the nineteenth century; it's a weak and sickly thing. Would to God we had a few men like Daniel living here to-day!

So Daniel went to his room three times a day; and he trod that path so that the grass didn't grow in it. I venture to say that they knew where he was going to pray; they knew well he wouldn't deviate a bit; he went as aforetime to pray, and his windows were up. See him as he falls upon his knees. But there are some men out there under those windows; those one hundred and twenty princes had taken good care of that; they had their men there; they wanted to get two witnesses to the fact; and if there had been any reporters in that day, how anxious they would have been to have got that prayer; and they would have had it telegraphed all over the world inside of twenty-four hours. They would have been very anxious to get it. There was great excitement in Babylon then; all Babylon knew that this prophet was not going to deviate. They knew very well that this old statesman was a man of iron will and that he was not going to yield. The lions' den was nothing to him. He had rather be with God in the lions' den than out of it without God. And it is a thousand times better, my friends, to be in the lions' den with God, and have principle, than to be out and to have money without principle. I pity those men who have got their money dishonestly; I pity those men who have got their positions in life dishonestly; I pity any politician who has got

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his office dishonestly. Ah! how his conscience will lash him at times! It doesn't pay; it pays to be true. It is best to be honest if we don't have as much money, or don't have position in this world; it is best to have God with us and to know that we are right. . . .

I can imagine I see that old man praying, and these men are down there listening. Listen, and see if he prays now to Darius: "Oh, thou God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob; thou God of our fathers," and so he went on and prayed to the God of Heaven; and before he got through he prayed for Darius, but he didn't pray to him. I venture to say that that man was worth more than any other Darius had in his empire; yes, worth more than forty thousand men that wanted to get him out of the way. He was true to the King. He prayed for him; he loved him, and he did everything he could for that King that did not conflict with the law of his God.

But now they hasten away to Darius: "O King, live forever; do you know there is a man in your empire that will not obey you?"

"No," cries the monarch, "is there?"

"Yes; there is a man who has refused to call upon you."

"Who is it?" cries the King.

"Why, it is that Hebrew that you put over us." And the moment they mentioned that man's name, you can see a frown upon the King's brow, and it flashes into his mind: "Why, I have made a mistake; I never ought to have signed that decree. I might have known that Daniel would never call upon me; I know very well whom he serves; he serves the God of his fathers. I have made a mistake."

Darius loved Daniel, and he sought in his heart to deliver him; he tried all day to deliver him and save the law. But he didn't love him quite as much as your Darius loved you; he didn't love him quite as much as Christ loved us; for if he had he would have gone into the lions' den for him and kept the law. But now at the going down of the sun, he has to give up, and he says to his officers: "Go and take him."

And you can see those men going out to bind that old man with white hair; they bind his hands, and you can see those Chaldean soldiers as they take that secretary of state captive; that highest and noblest statesman that nation ever had; they guard him along through the streets of Babylon off towards the

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lions' den. Look at him as with a firm step and steady tread the light of heaven shines upon him. All heaven is interested in that man. He is the most popular man in heaven there is down here upon the earth; how the angels are delighted with him; how they love him up there; he had stood firm; he had not deviated; he had not turned away from the God of the Bible, and he walks like a giant to the lions' den, and they cast him in. They put a great stone at the mouth of the den, and the King puts his seal upon it,—and the law is kept.

But if you had been in the King's palace that night, you would have seen one man in Babylon in great trouble. Darius didn't have his musicians brought in that night; he didn't want any music; away with music and singing; he felt troubled; he didn't sleep that night; there was no feast that night; he couldn't eat anything; the servants brought him in food, but he had no taste for it; he had put in that den of lions the best man in his kindgom, and he upbraided himself for it. He said to himself: "How could I have been a party to such an act as that?" But if you had looked into the lions' den, you would have found a man as calm as a summer evening. Perhaps, when the time came for him to pray, he prayed as aforetime, and if he could get the points of the compass in that den, he prayed with his face toward Jerusalem. He loved that city, he loved the Temple, and with his face toward that city he prayed; and when the time came to sleep, perhaps, he took one of the lions for a pillow and lay down to sleep, and slept as soundly as any man in Babylon.

But early the next morning, it says—and I can imagine it was before the sun was up, just in the gray dawn of the morning—some of the men of Babylon heard the wheels of the King's chariot rolling over the pavements, and King Darius was seen driving in great haste to the lions' den; and he went to the den and cried out: "O Daniel, is thy God whom thou servest continually able to deliver thee from the mouths of the lions?" Hark! he hears a voice down there in the lions' den: "My God has sent his angels, and they have shut the lions' mouths." And the King says: "Take him out of the den," and I suppose the King took Daniel, and they went back to the palace, and then Daniel breakfasted with the King, and there were two happy men in Babylon that morning. "My God has sent his angels, and stopped the mouths of the lions." They couldn't harm him. The very hairs

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of his head were numbered. I tell you whenever a man stands by God, God will stand by him. It was a good deal better for him not to deviate. Oh, how his name shines! What a blessed character!

I would like to have time to go on further. In his old age, before he left the earth, Gabriel was sent down from the presence of God to tell him that he was greatly beloved. It was the first visit Gabriel ever made to the earth that is recorded. "A man greatly beloved." And in the closing of the book it says: "They that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars forever and ever." Oh, may God help you and me to go out and win men to Christ that we may shine in the kingdom by and by! He will be back here by and by. Yes, with Daniel, we shall greet him by and by. He is one of the grand characters that I want to see when I get yonder. And to be associated with such a man as that; to be with him; to reign with him and with our Master — Oh, what a privilege!

Young man, let us come out from the world; let us trample it under our feet; let us be true to God; let us keep step and make the fight for our king, and our crowning time shall come by and by. Yes, the reward shall come by and by, and it may be said of us: "O man greatly beloved."

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SIR THOMAS MORE

(1478–1535)

SIR THOMAS MORE, author of 'Utopia' and correspondent of Erasmus, was one of the best and greatest of the great men of England in the age of the Tudors. He was the son of Sir John More, a London barrister, who placed him at thirteen years of age in the service of the Archbishop of Canterbury. In 1492 he entered the University of Oxford and improved his time so well that in 1497, when he met Erasmus, then on a visit to England, he won the friendship of that celebrated scholar and retained it through life. He entered Parliament in 1504 and rose in favor until in 1521 he became Subtreasurer to the King; in 1523, Speaker of the House of Commons; and in 1529, the successor of Wolsey as Chancellor. A zealous Catholic, he opposed Luther and Tyndale to the great satisfaction of Henry VIII., who, however, sent him to the scaffold with characteristic promptness after convicting him of high treason when he refused to recognize the validity of the divorce of Catherine of Aragon. More's speech at his trial and his conduct at his execution on Tower Hill, July 6th, 1535, vindicating the death to which he was condemned by "the just necessity of his cause for the discharge of his conscience," reflect credit on universal human nature, which is honored by such martyrs, whether they are Catholic or Protestant.

HIS SPEECH WHEN ON TRIAL FOR LIFE

(Delivered at His Trial, 1535)

WHEN I consider the length of my accusation, and what heinous matters are laid to my charge, I am struck with fear lest my memory and understanding, which are both impaired, together with my bodily health, through a long indisposition, contracted by my imprisonment, should now fail me so far as to make me incapable of making such ready answers in my defense as otherwise I might have done. This, my indictment, if I mistake not, consists of four principal heads, each of which I purpose, God willing, to answer in order. As to the

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first crime objected against me, that I have been an enemy out of stubbornness of mind to the King's second marriage, I confess I always told his Majesty my opinion of it, according to the dictates of my conscience, which I neither ever would, nor ought to have concealed; for which I am so far from thinking myself guilty of high treason, that, on the contrary, being required to give my opinion by so great a prince in an affair of so much importance, upon which the peace of the kingdom depended, I should have basely flattered him and my own conscience had I not spoken the truth as I thought; then, indeed, I might justly have been esteemed a most wicked subject and a perfidious traitor to God. If I have offended the king herein,—if it can be an offense to tell one's mind freely when his sovereign puts the question to him,—I suppose I have been sufficiently punished already for the fault by the great afflictions I have endured, by the loss of my estate, and my tedious imprisonment which has continued already near fifteen months.

The second charge against me is that I have violated the act made in the last Parliament, that is, being a prisoner, and twice examined, I would not, out of malignant, perfidious, obstinate, and traitorous mind, tell them my opinion, whether the king was supreme head of the Church or not, but confessed then that I had nothing to do with that act, as to the justice or injustice of it, because I had no benefice in the Church; yet I then protested that I had never said or done anything against it; neither can any one word or action of mine be alleged, or produced, to make me culpable. Nay, this I own was then my answer to their honors, that I would think of nothing else hereafter but of the bitter passions of our blessed Savior and of my exit out of this miserable world. I wish nobody any harm, and if this does not keep me alive, I desire not to live. By all which I know, I would not transgress any law, or become guilty of any treasonable crime; for this statute, nor no other law in the world, can punish any man for his silence, seeing they can do no more than punish words or deeds; 'tis God only that is the judge of the secrets of our hearts.

Attorney—Sir Thomas, though we have not one word or deed of yours to object against you, yet we have your silence, which is an evident sign of the malice of your heart, because no dutiful subject, being lawfully asked this question, will refuse to answer it.

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Sir Thomas More — Sir, my silence is no sign of any malice in my heart, which the King himself must own by my conduct upon divers occasions; neither doth it convince any man of the breach of the law; for it is a maxim amongst the civilians and canonists, *Qui tacet consentire videtur*,— he that holds his peace seems to give his consent,— and as to what you say, that no good subject will refuse to give a direct answer, I do really think it to be the duty of every good subject, except he be such a subject as will be a bad Christian, rather to obey God than man, to be more cautious to offend his conscience than of anything else in the whole world, especially if his conscience be not the occasion of some sedition and great injury to his prince and country, for I do sincerely protest that I never revealed it to any man alive.

I come now to the third principal article in my indictment, by which I am accused of malicious attempts, traitorous endeavors, and perfidious practices against that statute, as the words therein do allege, because I wrote while in the Tower divers packets of letters to Bishop Fisher, whereby I exhorted him to violate the same law, and encouraged him in the like obstinacy. I do insist that these letters be produced and read in court, by which I may be either acquitted or convinced of a lie; but because you say the Bishop burnt them all, I will here tell you the whole truth of the matter: some of my letters related only to our private affairs, as about our old friendship and acquaintance; one of them was in answer to his, wherein he desired me to let him know what answers I made upon my examinations concerning the oath of supremacy, and what I wrote to him upon it was this, that I had already settled my conscience, and let him satisfy his according to his own mind. God is my witness, and as I hope he will save my soul, I gave him no other answer, and this, I presume, is no breach of the laws.

As to the principal crime objected against me, that I should say upon my examination in the Tower, that this law was like a two-edged sword: for, in consenting to it, I should endanger my soul, and, in rejecting it, would lose my life. It is evidently concluded, as you say, from this answer, because Bishop Fisher made the like, that he was in the same conspiracy. To this I reply that my answer there was conditional; if there were both danger in allowing or disallowing that act, and therefore, like a two-edged sword, it seemed a hard thing it should be put upon me,

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who had never hitherto contradicted it either in word or deed; these were my words. What the Bishop answered I know not; if his answer was like mine, it did not proceed from any conspiracy of ours, but from the similitude of our learning and understanding. To conclude, I do sincerely avouch that I never spoke a word against this law to any man living, though perhaps the King's Majesty has been told to the contrary.

[«There was little or no reply made to this full answer by Mr. Attorney, or anybody else; the word «malice» was what was principally insisted on, and in the mouths of the whole court, though for proof of it nobody could produce either words or actions; nevertheless, to set the best gloss that could be upon the matter, Mr. Rich was called to give evidence, in open court, upon oath, which he immediately did, affirming what we have already related, concerning a conference between him and Sir Thomas in the Tower; to which Sir Thomas made answer:»—]

If I were a man, my lords, that had no regard to my oath, I had had no occasion to be here at this time, as is well known to everybody, as a criminal; and if this oath, Mr. Rich, which you have taken be true, then I pray I may never see God's face, which, were it otherwise, is an imprecation I would not be guilty of to gain the whole world.

In good faith, Mr. Rich, I am more concerned for your perjury than my own danger; and I must tell you that neither myself, nor anybody else to my knowledge, ever took you to be a man of such reputation that I, or any other, would have anything to do with you in any matter of importance. You know that I have been acquainted with your manner of life and conversation a long time, even from your youth to the present juncture, for we lived in the same parish; and you very well know (I am sorry I am forced to speak it), you always lay under the odium of a very lying tongue, of a great gamester, and of no good name and character, either there or in the temple, where you were educated. Can it, therefore, seem likely to your lordships, that I should, in so weighty an affair as this, act so unadvisedly as to trust Mr. Rich, a man I had always so mean an opinion of, in reference to his truth and honesty, so very much before my sovereign lord the King, to whom I am so deeply indebted for his manifold favors, or any of his noble and grave counselors, that I should only impart to Mr. Rich the secrets of my conscience, in respect to the King's supremacy, the particular subject, and only point about which I have

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been so long pressed to explain myself; which I never did, nor never would reveal, when the act was once made, either to the King himself, or any of his privy counselors, as is well known to your honors, who have been sent up on no other account, at several times, by his Majesty, to me in the Tower? I refer it to your judgments, my lords, whether this can seem credible to any of your lordships.

But, supposing what Mr. Rich has sworn should be true, seeing the words were spoken in familiar and private conversation, and that there was nothing at all asserted, but only cases put without any offensive circumstances, it cannot, in justice, be said that they were spoken maliciously, and where there is no malice, there is no offense; besides, my lords, I cannot think so many reverend bishops, so many honorable personages, and so many virtuous and learned men, of whom the Parliament consisted in the enacting of that law, ever meant to have any man punished with death in whom no malice could be found, taking the word "*malitia*" for "*malevolentia*,"—for if "*malitia*" be taken in a general signification for any crime, there is no man can be free; wherefore, this word "maliciously" is so far significant in this statute as the word "forcible" is in that of forcible entry; for in that case, if any enter peaceably and put his adversary out forcibly, it is no offense; but if he enter forcibly, he shall be punished by that statute.

Besides, all the unspeakable goodness of his Majesty towards me, who has been in so many ways my singular good lord, and graciously he, I say, who has so dearly loved and trusted me, even from my first entrance into his royal service, vouchsafing to honor me with the dignity of being one of his privy council, and has most generously promoted me to offices of great reputation and honor, and, lastly, to that of lord high chancellor; which honor he never did to any layman before, the same being the highest dignity in this famous kingdom, and next to the King's royal person, so far beyond my merits and qualifications; honoring and exalting me, by his incomparable benignity, for these twenty years and upwards, heaping continual favors upon me, and now, at last, at my own humble request, giving me liberty to dedicate the remainder of my life to the service of God, for the better saving of my soul, has been pleased to discharge and free me from that weighty dignity; before which, he had still heaped more and more honors upon me; I say all this, his Maj-

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esty's bounty, so long and so plentifully conferred upon me, is enough, in my opinion, to invalidate the scandalous accusation so injuriously surmised and urged by this man against me.

[When he had received sentence of death, he added:—]

Well seeing I am condemned, God knows how justly, I will freely speak, for the disburthening my conscience, what I think of this law. When I perceived it was the King's pleasure to sift out from whence the Pope's authority was derived, I confess I studied seven years together to find out the truth of it, and I could not meet with the works of any one doctor, approved by the Church, that avouch that a layman was, or ever could be, the head of the Church.

Chancellor — Would you be esteemed wiser, or to have a sincerer conscience than all the bishops, learned doctors, nobility, and commons of this realm?

More — I am able to produce against any one bishop which you can produce on your side, a hundred holy and Catholic bishops for my opinion; and against one realm, the consent of Christendom for one thousand years.

Norfolk — Sir Thomas, you show your obstinate and malicious mind.

More — Noble sir, it's no malice or obstinacy that makes me say this; but the just necessity of the cause obliges me to it, for the discharge of my conscience; and I call God to witness that nothing but this has excited me to it.

["After this," says Borrow, "the judges kindly offering him their favorable audience, if he had anything else to say, he answered most mildly and charitably":—]

I have no more to say, but that as the blessed Apostle St. Paul, as we read in the Acts of the Apostles, was present at the death of the protomartyr Stephen, and held the clothes of them that stoned him to death, and yet nevertheless they are now both holy saints in heaven, and there will continue friends to eternity, so I verily trust, and shall therefore heartily pray, that albeit your lordships have been on earth my judges to condemnation, yet that we may hereafter meet joyfully together in heaven, to our everlasting salvation, and God preserve you, especially my sovereign lord the King, and grant him faithful counselors.

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JOHN MORLEY

(1838–)

JOHN MORLEY, statesman, orator, and author, was born in Lancashire, England, December 24th, 1838. Graduating at Oxford in 1859, he began the practice of law in the same year, but his celebrity is due to his work in literature and in Parliament rather than to his practice at the bar. From 1867 to 1885 he edited the 'Fortnightly Review' and other well-known English periodicals, making a great reputation during the same period by his essays and speeches. He was elected to Parliament as a Member for Newcastle-on-Tyne in 1883, and in 1886 he became Chief Secretary for Ireland. He has been a Liberal in politics. Among his more noted works are 'Richard Cobden,' published in 1881; 'The Struggle for National Education,' in 1873; 'Edmund Burke,' in 1867; and 'Ralph Waldo Emerson,' in 1884.

THE GOLDEN ART OF TRUTH-TELLING

(From the Address, on 'The Study of Literature,' Delivered at the Mansion House, February 26th, 1887, as the Annual Address to the Students of the London Society for the Extension of University Teaching)

My Lord Mayor, Ladies, and Gentlemen:—

WHEN my friend Mr. Goschen invited me to discharge the duty which has fallen to me this afternoon, I confess that I complied with very great misgivings. He desired me to say something, if I could, on the literary side of education. Now, it is almost impossible—and I think those who know most of literature will be readiest to agree with me—to say anything new in recommendation of literature in a scheme of education. But, as taxpayers know, when the chancellor of the exchequer levies a contribution, he is not a person to be trifled with. I have felt, moreover, that Mr. Goschen has worked with such extreme zeal and energy for so many years on behalf of this good cause, that anybody whom he considered able to render him any co-operation owed it to him in its fullest extent. The lord

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mayor has been kind enough to say that I am especially qualified to speak on English literature. I must, however, remind the lord mayor that I have strayed from literature into the region of politics; and I am not at all sure that such a journey conduces to the soundness of one's judgment on literary subjects, or adds much to the force of one's arguments on behalf of literary study. Politics is a field where action is one long second best, and where the choice constantly lies between two blunders. Nothing can be more unlike in aim, in ideals, in method, and in matter, than are literature and politics. I have, however, determined to do the best that I can; and I feel how great an honor it is to be invited to partake in a movement which I do not scruple to call one of the most important of all those now taking place in English society. . . .

What is literature? It has often been defined. Emerson says it is a record of the best thoughts. "By literature," says another author, I think Mr. Stopford Brooke, "we mean the written thoughts and feelings of intelligent men and women arranged in a way that shall give pleasure to the reader." A third account is that "the aim of a student of literature is to know the best that has been thought in the world." Definitions always appear to me in these things to be in the nature of vanity. I feel that the attempt to be compact in the definition of literature ends in something that is rather meagre, partial, starved, and unsatisfactory. I turn to the answer given by a great French writer to a question not quite the same, namely: "What is a classic?" Literature consists of a whole body of classics in the true sense of the word, and a classic, as Saint Beuve defines him, is an "author who has enriched the human mind; who has really added to its treasure; who has got it to take a step further; who has discovered some unequivocal moral truth, or penetrated to some eternal passion in that heart of man where it seemed as though all were known and explored; who has produced his thought, or his observation, or his invention under some form, no matter what, so it be great, large, acute, and reasonable, sane and beautiful in itself; who has spoken to all in a style of his own, yet a style which finds itself the style of everybody,—in a style that is at once new and antique and is the contemporary of all the ages." At a single hearing you may not take all that in; but if you should have any opportunity of recurring to it you will find this a satisfactory, full, and instructive account of what is a classic,

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and will find in it a full and satisfactory account of what those who have thought most on literature hope to get from it, and most would desire to confer upon others by it. Literature consists of all the books — and they are not so many — where moral truth and human passion are touched with a certain largeness, sanity, and attraction of form. My notion of the literary student is one who through books explores the strange voyages of man's moral reason, the impulses of the human heart, the chances and changes that have overtaken human ideals of virtue and happiness, of conduct and manners, and the shifting fortunes of great conceptions of truth and virtue. Poets, dramatists, humorists, satirists, masters of fiction, the great preachers, the character-writers, the maxim-writers, the great political orators, — they are all literature in so far as they teach us to know man and to know human nature. This is what makes literature, rightly sifted and selected, and rightly studied, not the mere elegant trifling that it is so often and so erroneously supposed to be, but a proper instrument for a systematic training of the imagination and sympathies, and of a genial and varied moral sensibility.

From this point of view let me remind you that books are not the products of accident and caprice. As Goethe said: «If you would understand an author, you must understand his age.» The same thing is just as true of a book. If you would comprehend it, you must know the age. There is an order; there are causes and relations. There are relations between great compositions and the societies from which they have emerged. I would put it in this way to you, that just as the naturalist strives to understand and to explain the distribution of plants and animals over the surface of the globe, to connect their presence or their absence with the great geological, climatic, and oceanic changes, so the student of literature, if he be wise, undertakes an ordered and connected survey of ideas, of tastes, of sentiments, of imagination, of humor, of invention, as they affect and as they are affected by the ever-changing experiences of human nature, and the manifold variations that time and circumstances are incessantly working in human society.

It is because I am possessed, and desire to see others possessed, by that conception of literary study, that I watch with the greatest sympathy and admiration the efforts of those who are striving so hard, and, I hope, so successfully, to bring the systematic and methodical study of our own literature, in con-

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nection with other literatures, among subjects for teaching and examination in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. I regard those efforts with the liveliest interest and sympathy. Everybody agrees that an educated man ought to have a general notion of the course of the great outward events of Eurpean history. So, too, an educated man ought to have a general notion of the course of all those inward thoughts and moods which find their expression in literature. I think that in cultivating the study of literature, as I have rather laboriously endeavored to define it, you will be cultivating the most important side of history. Knowledge of it gives stability and substance to character. It gives us a view of the ground we stand on. It gives us a solid backing of precedent and experience. It teaches us where we are. It protects us against imposture and surprise.

Before closing I should like to say one word upon the practice of composition. I have suffered, by the chance of life, very much from the practice of composition. It has been my lot, I suppose, to read more unpublished work than any one else in this room, and, I hope, in this city. There is an idea, and I venture to think, a very mistaken idea, that you cannot have a taste for literature unless you are yourself an author. I make bold entirely to demur to that proposition. It is practically most mischievous, and leads scores and even hundreds of people to waste their time in the most unprofitable manner that the wit of man can devise, on work in which they can no more achieve even the most moderate excellence than they can compose a Ninth Symphony or paint a Transfiguration. It is a terrible error to suppose that because you relish "Wordsworth's solemn-thoughted idyl, or Tennyson's enchanted reverie," therefore you have a call to run off to write bad verse at the Lakes or the Isle of Wight. I beseech you not all to turn to authorship. I will go further. I venture with all respect to those who are teachers of literature, to doubt the excellence and utility of the practice of overmuch essay-writing and composition. I have very little faith in rules of style, though I have an unbounded faith in the virtue of cultivating direct and precise expression. But you must carry on the operation inside the mind, and not merely by practicing literary deportment on paper. It is not everybody who can command the mighty rhythm of the greatest masters of human speech. But every one can make reasonably sure that he knows what he means, and whether he has found the right word. These are

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internal operations, and are not forwarded by writing for writing's sake. I am strong for attention to expression, if that attention be exercised in the right way. It has been said a million times that the foundation of right expression in speech or writing is sincerity. It is as true now as it has ever been. Right expression is a part of character. As somebody has said, by learning to speak with precision you learn to think with correctness; and firm and vigorous speech lies through the cultivation of high and noble sentiments. I think, as far as my observation has gone, that men will do better for reaching precision by studying carefully and with an open mind and a vigilant eye the great models of writing than by excessive practice of writing on their own account.

Much might here be said on what is one of the most important of all the sides of literary study. I mean its effect as helping to preserve the dignity and the purity of the English language. That noble instrument has never been exposed to such dangers as those which beset it to-day. Domestic slang, scientific slang, pseudo-æsthetic affectations, hideous importations from American newspapers, all bear down with horrible force upon the glorious fabric which the genius of our race has reared. I will say nothing of my own on this pressing theme, but will read to you a passage of weight and authority from the greatest master of mighty and beautiful speech:—

"Whoever in a state," said Milton, "knows how wisely to form the manners of men and to rule them at home and in war with excellent institutes, him in the first place, above others, I should esteem worthy of all honor. But next to him the man who strives to establish in maxims and rules the method and habit of speaking and writing received from a good age of the nation, and, as it were, to fortify the same round with a kind of wall, the daring to overleap which let a law only short of that of Romulus be used to prevent. . . . The one, as I believe, supplies noble courage and intrepid counsels against an enemy invading the territory; the other takes to himself the task of extirpating and defeating, by means of a learned detective police of ears, and a light band of good authors, that barbarism which makes large inroads upon the minds of men, and is a destructive intestine enemy of genius. Nor is it to be considered of small consequence what language, pure or corrupt, a people has, or what is their customary degree of propriety in speaking it. . . . For, let the words of a country be in part unhandsome and offensive in themselves, in part debased by wear and wrongly uttered, and what do

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they declare but, by no light indication, that the inhabitants of that country are an indolent, idly-yawning race, with minds already long prepared for any amount of servility? On the other hand, we have never heard that any empire, any state, did not at least flourish in a middling degree as long as its own liking and care for its language lasted."

The probabilities are that we are now coming to an epoch, as it seems to me, of a quieter style. There have been — one of them, I am happy to think, still survives — in our generation three great giants of prose-writing. There was, first of all, Carlyle, there was Macaulay, and there is Mr. Ruskin. These are all giants, and they have the rights of giants. But I do not believe that a greater misfortune can befall the students who attend classes here than that they should strive to write like any one of these three illustrious men. I think it is the worst thing that can happen to them. They can never attain to it. It is not everybody who can bend the bow of Ulysses, and most men only do themselves a mischief by trying to bend it. We are now on our way to a quieter style. I am not sorry for it. Truth is quiet. Milton's phrase ever lingers in our minds as one of imperishable beauty, — where he regrets that he is drawn by I know not what, from beholding the bright countenance of truth in the quiet and still air of delightful studies. Moderation and judgment are more than the flash and the glitter even of the greatest genius. I hope that your professors of rhetoric will teach you to cultivate that golden art — the steadfast use of a language in which truth can be told; a speech that is strong by natural force, and not merely effective by declamation; an utterance without trick, without affectation, without mannerisms, and without any of that excessive ambition which overleaps itself as much in prose-writing as it does in other things.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I will detain you no longer. I hope that I have made it clear that we conceive the end of education on its literary side to be to make a man and not a cyclopædia, to make a citizen and not a book of elegant extracts. Literature does not end with knowledge of forms, with inventories of books and authors, with finding the key of rhythm, with the varying measure of the stanza, or the changes from the involved and sonorous periods of the seventeenth century down to the *staccato* of the nineteenth century, or all the rest of the technicalities of scholarship. Do not think I contemn these.

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They are all good things to know, but they are not ends in themselves. «The intelligent man,» says Plato, «will prize those studies which result in his soul getting soberness, righteousness, and wisdom, and he will less value the others.» Literature is one of the instruments, and one of the most powerful instruments, for forming character, for giving us men and women armed with reason, braced by knowledge, clothed with steadfastness and courage, and inspired by that public spirit and public virtue of which it has been well said that they are the brightest ornaments of the mind of man. Bacon is right, as he generally is, when he bids us read, not to contradict and refute, nor to believe and take for granted, nor to find talk and discourse, but to weigh and to consider. Yes, let us read to weigh and to consider. In the times before us that promise or threaten deep political, economical, and social controversy, what we need to do is to induce our people to weigh and consider. We want them to cultivate energy without impatience, activity without restlessness, inflexibility without ill-humor. I am not going to preach to you any artificial stoicism. I am not going to preach to you any indifference to money, or to the pleasures of social intercourse, or to the esteem and good-will of our neighbors, or to any other of the consolations and the necessities of life. But, after all, the thing that matters most, both for happiness and for duty, is that we should habitually live with wise thoughts and right feelings. Literature helps us more than other studies to this most blessed companionship of wise thoughts and right feelings, and so I have taken this opportunity of earnestly commending it to your interest and care.

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GOUVERNEUR MORRIS

(1752–1816)

IN A letter written in 1831, James Madison, who was called by his contemporaries "The Father of the Constitution," writes that "the style and finish" of the Constitution "fairly belong to Gouverneur Morris, . . . the task having probably been handed over to him by the chairman of the committee." "A better choice," Madison adds, "could not have been made, as the performance of the task proved. It is true that the state of materials, consisting of a reported draft in detail and subsequent resolutions accurately penned, and falling easily into their proper places, was a good preparation for the symmetry and phraseology of the instrument, but there was sufficient room for the talents and tastes stamped by the author on the face of it." Morris, who was born at Morrisiana, New York, January 31st, 1752, had been a member of the Continental Congress and had made a considerable reputation before he was appointed on the committee to draft the Federal Constitution in 1787, but he acquired his greatest celebrity subsequently as a Federalist leader and supporter of Hamilton against Jefferson. He was United States Minister to France from 1792 to 1794, and United States Senator from New York from 1800 to 1803. He died November 6th, 1816.

ORATION AT THE FUNERAL OF ALEXANDER HAMILTON

(Pronounced at the Porch of the Old Trinity Church. New York City, over the Body of Hamilton, at the Time of Its Interment, July 14th, 1804)

IF ON this sad, this solemn occasion, I should endeavor to move your commiseration, it would be doing injustice to that sensibility which has been so generally and so justly manifested. Far from attempting to excite your emotions, I must try to repress my own; and yet I fear that instead of the language of a public speaker you will hear only the lamentations of a wailing friend. But I will struggle with my bursting heart to portray that heroic spirit which has flown to the mansions of bliss.

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Students of Columbia, he was in the ardent pursuit of knowledge in your academic shades, when the first sound of the American war called him to the field. A young and unprotected volunteer, such was his zeal, and so brilliant his service, that we heard his name before we knew his person. It seemed as if God had called him suddenly into existence that he might assist to save a world!

The penetrating eye of Washington soon perceived the manly spirit which animated his youthful bosom. By that excellent judge of men he was selected as an aid, and thus he became early acquainted with, and was a principal actor in, the more important scenes of our Revolution. At the siege of York he pertinaciously insisted on and obtained the command of a forlorn hope. He stormed the redoubt; but let it be recorded that not one single man of the enemy perished. His gallant troops, emulating the heroism of their chief, checked the uplifted arm and spared a foe no longer resisting. Here closed his military career.

Shortly after the war, your favor—no, your discernment—called him to public office. You sent him to the convention at Philadelphia; he there assisted in forming that Constitution which is now the bond of our union, the shield of our defense, and the source of our prosperity. In signing the compact, he expressed his apprehension that it did not contain sufficient means of strength for its own preservation, and that in consequence we should share the fate of many other republics, and pass through anarchy to despotism. We hoped better things. We confided in the good sense of the American people; and, above all, we trusted in the protecting providence of the Almighty. On this important subject he never concealed his opinion. He disdained concealment. Knowing the purity of his heart, he bore it, as it were, in his hand, exposing to every passenger its inmost recesses. This generous indiscretion subjected him to censure from misrepresentation. His speculative opinions were treated as deliberate designs, and yet you all know how strenuous, how unremitting were his efforts to establish and to preserve the Constitution. If, then, his opinion was wrong, pardon, oh! pardon that single error in a life devoted to your service.

At the time when our Government was organized, we were without funds, though not without resources. To call them into action and establish order in the finances, Washington sought for splendid talents for extensive information, and, above all, he

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sought for sterling, incorruptible integrity. All these he found in Hamilton. The system then adopted has been the subject of much animadversion. If it be not without a fault, let it be remembered that nothing human is perfect. Recollect the circumstances of the moment — recollect the conflict of opinion — and, above all, remember that a minister of a republic must bend to the will of the people. The administration which Washington formed was one of the most efficient, one of the best that any country was ever blest with. And the result was a rapid advance in power and prosperity, of which there is no example in any other age or nation. The part which Hamilton bore is universally known.

His unsuspecting confidence in professions, which he believed to be sincere, led him to trust too much to the undeserving. This exposed him to misrepresentation. He felt himself obliged to resign. The care of a rising family and the narrowness of his fortune made it a duty to return to his profession for their support. But though he was compelled to abandon public life, never, no, never for a moment, did he abandon the public service. He never lost sight of your interests. I declare to you before that God, in whose presence we are now especially assembled, that in his most private and confidential conversations the single objects of discussion and consideration were your freedom and happiness. You well remember the state of things which again called forth Washington from his retreat to lead your armies. You know that he asked for Hamilton to be his second in command. That venerable sage well knew the dangerous incidents of a military profession, and he felt the hand of time pinching life at its source. It was probable that he would soon be removed from the scene, and that his second would succeed to the command. He knew by experience the importance of that place, and he thought the sword of America might safely be confided to the hand which now lies cold in that coffin. Oh! my fellow-citizens, remember this solemn testimonial that he was not ambitious. Yet he was charged with ambition, and, wounded by the imputation, when he laid down his command he declared in the proud independence of his soul that he never would accept of any office, unless in a foreign war he should be called on to expose his life in defense of his country. This determination was immovable. It was his fault that his opinions and his resolutions could not be changed. Knowing his own firm purpose, he was indignant at the charge that he sought

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for place or power. He was ambitious only for glory, but he was deeply solicitous for you. For himself he feared nothing; but he feared that bad men might, by false professions, acquire your confidence, and abuse it to your ruin.

Brethren of the Cincinnati, there lies our chief! Let him still be our model. Like him, after long and faithful public services, let us cheerfully perform the social duties of private life. Oh! he was mild and gentle. In him there was no offense, no guile. His generous hand and heart were open to all.

Gentlemen of the bar, you have lost your brightest ornament. Cherish and imitate his example. While, like him, with justifiable and with laudable zeal, you pursue the interests of your clients, remember, like him, the eternal principle of justice.

Fellow-citizens, you have long witnessed his professional conduct and felt his unrivaled eloquence. You know how well he performed the duties of a citizen; you know that he never courted your favor by adulation or the sacrifice of his own judgment. You have seen him contending against you and saving your dearest interests, as it were, in spite of yourselves. And you now feel and enjoy the benefits resulting from the firm energy of his conduct. Bear this testimony to the memory of my departed friend. I charge you to protect his fame. It is all he has left — all that these poor orphan children will inherit from their father. But, my countrymen, that fame may be a rich treasure to you also. Let it be the test by which to examine those who solicit your favor. Disregarding professions, view their conduct, and on a doubtful occasion ask: Would Hamilton have done this thing?

You all know how he perished. On this last scene I cannot, I must not, dwell. It might excite emotions too strong for your better judgment. Suffer not your indignation to lead to any act which might again offend the insulted majesty of the laws. On his part, as from his lips, though with my voice, — for his voice you will hear no more, — let me entreat you to respect yourselves.

And now, ye ministers of the everlasting God, perform your holy office, and commit these ashes of our departed brother to the bosom of the grave.

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OLIVER P. MORTON

1823–1877)

OLIVER PERRY MORTON, War Governor of Indiana and both in speech and action one of the most forcible men of his day, was born in Wayne County, Indiana, August 4th, 1823. Becoming Governor of Indiana in 1861, he held that office until 1867, when he was elected to the United States Senate, where he served ten years with marked distinction. He was a member of the Electoral Commission of 1877, but the policies which were inaugurated by President Hayes were much more conservative than those for which Governor Morton had stood during the ten years of struggle between 1866 and 1876. He had contended for universal suffrage and absolute equality, refusing to make compromises of principle for the sake of expediency. He died November 1st, 1877.

REASONS FOR NEGRO SUFFRAGE

(From a Speech on Reconstruction Delivered in the United States Senate, January 24th, 1868)

WHEN Congress entered upon this work it had become apparent to all men that loyal republican State governments could not be erected and maintained upon the basis of the white population. We had tried them. Congress had attempted the work of reconstruction through the constitutional amendment by leaving the suffrage with the white men, and by leaving with the white people of the South the question as to when the colored people should exercise the right of suffrage, if ever; but when it was found that those white men were as rebellious as ever, that they hated this Government more bitterly than ever; when it was found that they persecuted the loyal men, both white and black, in their midst; when it was found that Northern men who had gone down there were driven out by social tyranny, by a thousand annoyances, by the insecurity of life and properity, then it became apparent to all men of intelligence that reconstruction could not take place upon the basis of the white population, and something else must be done.

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Now, sir, what was there left to do? Either we must hold these people continually by military power, or we must use such machinery upon such a new basis as would enable loyal republican State governments to be raised up; and in the last resort,— and I will say Congress waited long, the nation waited long, experience had to come to the rescue of reason before the thing was done — in the last resort, and as the last thing to be done, Congress determined to dig through all the rubbish, dig through the soil and the shifting sands, and go down to the eternal rock, and there upon the basis of the everlasting principle of equal and exact justice to all men, we have planted the column of reconstruction; and, sir, it will arise slowly but surely, and "the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." Whatever dangers we apprehend from the introduction of the right of suffrage of seven hundred thousand men, just emerged from slavery, were put aside in the presence of a greater danger. Why, sir, let me say frankly to my friend from Wisconsin that I approached universal colored suffrage in the South reluctantly, not because I adhered to the miserable dogma that this was the white man's Government, but because I entertained fears about at once intrusting a large body of men just from slavery, to whom education had been denied by law, to whom the marriage relation had been denied, who had been made the basest and most abject slaves, with political power. And as the Senator has referred to a speech which I made in Indiana in 1865, allow me to show the principle that then actuated me, for in that speech I said:—

"In regard to the question of admitting the freedmen of the Southern States to vote, while I admit the equal rights of all men, and that in time all men will have the right to vote without distinction of color or race, I yet believe that in the case of four million of slaves just freed from bondage there should be a period of probation and preparation before they are brought to the exercise of political power."

Such was my feeling at that time, for it had not then been determined by the bloody experience of the last two years that we could not reconstruct upon the basis of the white population, and such was the opinion of a great majority of the people of the North; and it was not until a year and a half after that time that Congress came to the conclusion that there was no way left but to resort to colored suffrage and suffrage to all men except

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those who were disqualified by the commission of high crimes and misdemeanors. . . .

My friend from Wisconsin yesterday compared what he called the Radical party of the North to the Radicals of the South, and when he was asked the question by some Senator: "Who are the Radicals of the South?" he said: "They are the Secessionists." Sir, the Secessionists of the South are Democrats to-day, acting in harmony and concert with the Democratic party. They were Democrats during the war who prayed for the success of McClellan and Pendleton, and who would have been glad to vote for them. They were Democrats during the war, men who sympathized with the Rebellion, who aided in bringing it on. These are the Radicals of the South, and my friend from Wisconsin, after all, is acting with that Radical party.

The burden of his speech yesterday was that the reconstruction measures of Congress are intended to establish negro supremacy. Sir, this proposition is without any foundation whatever. I believe it was stated yesterday by the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Trumbull] that in every State but two the white voters registered outnumbered the colored voters; and the fact that in two States the colored voters outnumber the white voters is owing to the simple accident that there are more colored men in those States than there are white men. Congress has not sought to establish negro supremacy, nor has it sought to establish the supremacy of any class or party of men. If it had sought to establish negro supremacy, it would have been an easy matter by excluding from the right of suffrage all men who had been concerned in the Rebellion, in accordance with the proposition of the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Sumner], in his speech at Worcester, in 1865. He proposed to exclude all men who had been concerned in the Rebellion, and confer suffrage only on those who were left. That would have established negro supremacy by giving the negroes an overwhelming majority in every State; and if that had been the object of Congress, it could have been readily done. But, sir, Congress has only sought to divide the political power between the loyal and the disloyal. It has disfranchised some fifty thousand disloyal leaders, leaving all the rest of the people to vote. They have been enfranchised on both sides, that neither should be placed in the power of the other. The rebels have the right to vote so that they shall not be under the control and power of

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the Union men only, and the Union men have been allowed to vote so that they shall not be under the control and power of the rebels. This is the policy, to divide the political power among those men for the protection of each. Sir, the charge that we intend to create a negro supremacy or colored State governments is without the slightest foundation, for it would have been in the power of Congress to have easily conferred such supremacy by simply excluding the disloyal from the right of suffrage — a power which it had the clear right to exercise.

Now, Mr. President, allow me to consider for a moment the amendment offered by the Senator from Wisconsin, and upon which his speech was made, and see what is its effect — I will not say its purpose, but its inevitable effect — should it become a law. I will ask the Secretary to read the amendment which the Senator from Wisconsin has proposed to the Senate.

The Secretary read as follows: —

Provided, nevertheless, That upon an election for the ratification of any constitution, or of officers under the same, previous to its adoption in any State, no person not having the qualifications of an elector under the constitution and laws of such State previous to the late Rebellion shall be allowed to vote, unless he shall possess one of the following qualifications, namely: —

1. He shall have served as a soldier in the Federal army for one year or more.

2. He shall have sufficient education to read the Constitution of the United States and to subscribe his name to an oath to support the same; or,

3. He shall be seized in his own right, or in the right of his wife, of a freehold of the value of two hundred and fifty dollars.

Mr. Morton — Sir, these qualifications are, by the terms of the amendment, to apply to those who were not authorized to vote by the laws of the State before the Rebellion — in other words, the colored men. He proposes to allow a colored man to vote if he has been in the Federal army one year, and he proposes to allow a rebel white man to vote, although he has served in the rebel army four years! He proposes that a colored man shall not vote unless he has sufficient education to read the Constitution of the United States and to subscribe his name to an oath to support the same, whereas he permits a rebel white man to

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vote who never heard of A and does not know how to make his mark even to a note given for whisky. [Laughter.]

Again, sir, he proposes that the colored man shall not vote unless he shall be seized in his own right or in the right of his wife of a freehold of the value of two hundred and fifty dollars, a provision, which, of course, would cut off nine hundred and ninety-nine out of every thousand colored men in the South. The colored man cannot vote unless he has a freehold of two hundred and fifty dollars, but the white rebel, who was never worth twenty-five cents, who never paid poll tax in his life, never paid an honest debt, is to be allowed to vote. Sir, what would be the inevitable effect of the adoption of this amendment? To cut off such a large part of the colored vote as to leave the rebel white vote largely in the ascendency and to put these new State governments there to be formed again into the hands of the rebels. Sir, I will not spend longer time upon that.

My friend yesterday alluded to my indorsement of the President's policy in a speech in 1865. I never indorsed what is now called the President's policy. In the summer of 1865, when I saw a division coming between the President and the Republican party, and when I could not help anticipating the direful consequences that must result from it, I made a speech in which I repelled certain statements that had been made against the President, and denied the charge that by issuing his Proclamation of May 29th, 1865, he had thereby left the Republican party. I said that he had not left the Republican party by that act. I did show that the policy of that proclamation was even more radical than that of Mr. Lincoln. I did show that it was more radical even than the Winter Davis Bill of the summer of 1864. But, sir, it was all upon the distinct understanding that whatever the President did his whole policy or action was to be submitted to Congress for its consideration and decision; and, as I before remarked, if that had been done all would have been well. I did not then advocate universal colored suffrage in the South, and I have before given my reasons for it, and in doing that I was acting in harmony with the great body of the Republican party of the North. It was nearly a year after that time, when Congress passed the constitutional amendment which still left the question of suffrage with the Southern States, left it with the white people; and it was not until a year and a half after that time that Congress came to the conclusion that we could not

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execute the guarantee of the Constitution without raising up a new class of loyal voters.

And, sir, nobody concurred in that result more heartily than myself. I confess (and I do it without shame) that I have been educated by the great events of this war. The American people have been educated rapidly; and the man who says he has learned nothing, that he stands now where he did six years ago, is like an ancient milepost by the side of a deserted highway.

. . . . . .

Mr. President, the column of reconstruction, as I before remarked, has risen slowly. It has not been hewn from a single stone. It is composed of many blocks, painfully laid up and put together, and cemented by the tears and blood of the nation. Sir, we have done nothing arbitrarily. We have done nothing for punishment, aye, too little for punishment. Justice has not had her demand. Not a man has yet been executed for this great treason. The arch fiend himself is now at liberty upon bail. No man is to be punished; and now, while punishment has gone by, as we all know, we are insisting only upon security for the future. We are simply asking that the evil spirits who brought this war upon us shall not again come into power during this generation, again to bring upon us rebellion and calamity. We are simply asking for those securities that we deem necessary for our peace and the peace of our posterity.

Sir, there is one great difference between this Union party and the so-called Democratic party. Our principles are those of humanity; they are those of justice; they are those of equal rights; they are principles that appeal to the hearts and the consciences of men; while on the other side we hear appeals to the prejudice of race against race. The white man is overwhelmingly in the majority in this country, and that majority is yearly increased by half a million of white men from abroad, and that majority gaining in proportion from year to year until the colored men will finally be but a handful in this country; and yet we hear the prejudices of the white race appealed to to crush this other race, and to prevent it from rising to supremacy and power. Sir, there is nothing noble, there is nothing generous, there is nothing lovely, in that policy or that appeal. How does that principle compare with ours? We are standing upon the broad platform of the Declaration of Independence, that "all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with

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certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." We say that these rights are not given by laws; are not given by the Constitution; but they are the gift of God to every man born into the world. Oh, sir, how glorious is this great principle compared with the inhuman — I might say the heathenish — appeal to the prejudice of race against race; the endeavor further to excite the strong against the weak; the endeavor further to deprive the weak of their rights of protection against the strong.

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MAX MÜLLER

(FRIEDRICH MAXIMILIAN MÜLLER)

(1823–)

MAX MÜLLER, one of the most celebrated philologists of the nineteenth century, was born at Dessau, Germany, December 6th, 1823. His father, the German lyric poet, Wilhelm Müller, was teacher of the classical languages in the gymnasium at Dessau, and from him Professor Müller probably received the bent which determined his career. After studying at Leipsic, Berlin, and Paris, he went to England and in 1850 began a connection with the University of Oxford, which has continued ever since. His lectures, 'The Science of Language,' 'Chips from a German Workshop,' and other lectures, addresses, and essays on philology went far towards popularizing what had been considered a most abstruse and difficult subject. In his 'Science of Thought' and other writings of the same class, he opposed the Darwinian theory of the descent of man with an elaboration of the argument he had used in his address before the Royal Institution in 1861 — the conclusion from the study of language that the power to use it rationally to express thought and transmit the experience of one generation to those succeeding it constitutes the 'Impassable Barrier between Brutes and Man.'

THE IMPASSABLE BARRIER BETWEEN BRUTES AND MAN

(From a Lecture Delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain in 1861)

IN COMPARING man with the other animals, we need not enter here into the physiological questions whether the difference between the body of an ape and the body of a man is one of degree or of kind. However that question is settled by physiologists, we need not be afraid. If the structure of a mere worm is such as to fill the human mind with awe, if a single glimpse which we catch of the infinite wisdom displayed in the organs of the lowest creature gives us an intimation of the wisdom of its Divine Creator far transcending the powers of our conception, how are we to criticize and disparage the most highly organized creatures of

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his creation, creatures as wonderfully made as we ourselves? Are there not many creatures on many points more perfect even than man? Do we not envy the lion's strength, the eagle's eye, the wings of every bird? If there existed animals as perfect as man in their physical structure, nay, even more perfect, no thoughtful man would ever be uneasy. His true superiority rests on different grounds. «I confess,» Sydney Smith writes, «I feel myself so much at ease about the superiority of mankind,—I have such a marked and decided contempt for the understanding of every baboon I have ever seen,—I feel so sure that the blue ape without a tail will never rival us in poetry, painting, and music, that I see no reason whatever that justice may not be done to the few fragments of soul and tatters of understanding which they may really possess.» The playfulness of Sydney Smith in handling serious and sacred subjects has, of late, been found fault with by many; but humor is a safer sign of strong convictions and perfect sanity than guarded solemnity.

With regard to our own problem, no man can doubt that certain animals possess all the physical requirements for articulate speech. There is no letter of the alphabet which a parrot will not learn to pronounce. The fact, therefore, that the parrot is without a language of its own must be explained by a difference between the mental, not between the physicial, faculties of the animal and man; and it is by a comparison of the mental faculties alone, such as we find them in man and brutes, that we may hope to discover what constitutes the indispensable qualification for language, a qualification to be found in man alone, and in no other creature on earth.

I say mental faculties, and I mean to claim a large share of what we call our mental faculties for the higher animals. These animals have sensation, perception, memory, will, and intellect, only we must restrict intellect to the comparing or interlacing of single perceptions. All these points can be proved by irrefragable evidence, and that evidence has never, I believe, been summed up with greater lucidity and power than in one of the last publications of M. P. Flourens, 'De la Raison, du Génie, et de la Folie': Paris, 1861. There are, no doubt, many people who are as much frightened at the idea that brutes have souls and are able to think, as by «the blue ape without a tail.» But their fright is entirely of their own making. If people will use such words as soul or thought without making it clear to themselves

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and others what they mean by them, these words will slip away under their feet, and the result must be painful. If we once ask the question, Have brutes a soul? we shall never arrive at any conclusion; for soul has been so many times defined by philosophers from Aristotle down to Hegel, that it means everything and nothing. Such has been the confusion caused by the promiscuous employment of the ill-defined terms of mental philosophy that we find Descartes representing brutes as living machines, whereas Leibnitz claims for them not only souls, but immortal souls. «Next to the error of those who deny the existence of God,» says Descartes, «there is none so apt to lead weak minds from the right path of virtue, as to think that the soul of brutes is of the same nature as our own; and, consequently, that we have nothing to fear or to hope after this life, any more than flies or ants; whereas, if we know how much they differ, we understand much better that our soul is quite independent of the body, and consequently not subject to die with the body.»

The spirit of these remarks is excellent, but the argument is extremely weak. It does not follow that brutes have no souls because they have no human souls. It does not follow that the souls of men are not immortal, because the souls of brutes are not immortal; nor has the major premise ever been proved by any philosopher, namely, that the souls of brutes must necessarily be destroyed and annihilated by death. Leibnitz, who has defended the immortality of the human soul with stronger arguments than even Descartes, writes: «I found at last how the souls of brutes and their sensations do not at all interfere with the immortality of human souls; on the contrary, nothing serves better to establish our natural immortality than to believe that all souls are imperishable.»

Instead of entering into these perplexities, which are chiefly due to the loose employment of ill-defined terms, let us simply look at the facts. Every unprejudiced observer will admit that—

1. Brutes see, hear, taste, smell, and feel; that is to say, they have five senses, just like ourselves, neither more nor less. They have both sensation and perception, a point which has been illustrated by M. Flourens by the most interesting experiments. If the roots of the optic nerve are removed, the retina in the eye of a bird ceases to be excitable, the iris is no longer movable; the animal is blind, because it has lost the organ of sensation. If, on the contrary, the cerebral lobes are removed, the eye

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remains pure and sound, the retina excitable, the iris movable. The eye is preserved, yet the animal cannot see, because it has lost the organ of perception.

2. Brutes have sensations of pleasure and pain. A dog that is beaten behaves exactly like a child that is chastised, and a dog that is fed and fondled exhibits the same signs of satisfaction as a boy under the same circumstances. We can only judge from signs, and if they are to be trusted in the case of children, they must be trusted likewise in the case of brutes.

3. Brutes do not forget, or, as philosophers would say, brutes have memory. They know their masters, they know their home; they evince joy on recognizing those who have been kind to them, and they bear malice for years to those by whom they have been insulted or ill-treated. Who does not recollect the dog Argos in the 'Odyssey,' who, after so many years' absence, was the first to recognize Ulysses?

4. Brutes are able to compare and distinguish. A parrot will take up a nut, and throw it down again, without attempting to crack it. He has found that it is light: this he could discover only by comparing the weight of the good nuts with that of the bad; and he has found that it has no kernel: this he could only discover by what philosophers would dignify with the grand title of a syllogism, namely, "all light nuts are hollow; this is a light nut, therefore this nut is hollow."

5. Brutes have a will of their own. I appeal to any one who has ever ridden a restive horse.

6. Brutes show signs of shame and pride. Here again any one who has to deal with dogs, who has watched a retriever with sparkling eyes placing a partridge at his master's feet, or a hound slinking away with his tail between his legs from the huntsman's call, will agree that these signs admit of but one interpretation. The difficulty begins when we use philosophical language, when we claim for brutes a moral sense, a conscience, a power of distinguishing good and evil; and, as we gain nothing by these scholastic terms, it is better to avoid them altogether.

7. Brutes show signs of love and hatred. There are well-authenticated stories of dogs following their masters to the grave, and refusing food from any one. Nor is there any doubt that brutes will watch their opportunity till they revenge themselves on those whom they dislike.

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If, with all these facts before us, we deny that brutes have sensation, perception, memory, will, and intellect, we ought to bring forward powerful arguments for interpreting the signs which we observe in brutes so differently from those which we observe in man.

Some philosophers imagine they have explained everything, if they ascribe to brutes instinct instead of intellect. But, if we take these two words in their usual acceptations, they surely do not exclude each other. There are instincts in man as well as in brutes. A child takes his mother's breast by instinct; the spider weaves its net by instinct; the bee builds her cell by instinct. No one would ascribe to the child a knowledge of physiology because it employs the exact muscles which are required for sucking; nor shall we claim for the spider a knowledge of mechanics, or for the bee an acquaintance with geometry, because we could not do what they do without a study of these sciences. But what if we tear a spider's web, and see the spider examining the mischief that is done, and either giving up his work in despair, or endeavoring to mend it as well as may be? Surely here we have the instinct of weaving controlled by observation, by comparison, by reflection, by judgment. Instinct, whether mechanical or moral, is more prominent in brutes than in man; but it exists in both, as much as intellect is shared by both.

Where, then, is the difference between brute and man? What is it that man can do, and of which we find no signs, no rudiments, in the whole brute world? I answer without hesitation: The one great barrier between the brute and man is language. Man speaks, and no brute has ever uttered a word. Language is our Rubicon, and no brute will dare to cross it. This is our matter-of-fact answer to those who speak of development, who think they discover the rudiments at least of all human faculties in apes, and who would fain keep open the possibility that man is only a more favored beast, the triumphant conqueror in the primeval struggle for life. Language is something more palpable than a fold of the brain, or an angle of the skull. It admits of no caviling, and no process of natural selection will ever distill significant words out of the notes of birds or the cries of beasts.

Language, however, is the only outward sign. We may point to it in our arguments, we may challenge our opponent to

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produce anything approaching to it from the whole brute world. But if this were all, if the art of employing articulate sounds for the purpose of communicating impressions were the only thing by which we could assert our superiority over the brute creation, we might not unreasonably feel somewhat uneasy at having the gorilla so close on our heels.

It cannot be denied that brutes, though they do not use articulate sounds for that purpose, have, nevertheless, means of their own for communicating with each other. When a whale is struck, the whole shoal, though widely dispersed, are instantly made aware of the presence of an enemy; and when the grave-digger beetle finds the carcass of a mole, he hastens to communicate the discovery to his fellows, and soon returns with his four confederates. It is evident, too, that dogs, though they do not speak, possess the power of understanding much that is said to them,—their names and the calls of their masters; and other animals, such as the parrot, can pronounce every articulate sound. Hence, although for the purpose of philosophical warfare, articulate language would still form an impregnable position, yet it is but natural that for our own satisfaction we should try to find out in what the strength of our position really consists; or, in other words, that we should try to discover that inward power of which language is the outward sign and manifestation.

For this purpose it will be best to examine the opinions of those who approached our problem from another point; who, instead of looking for outward and palpable signs of difference between brute and man, inquired into the inward mental faculties, and tried to determine the point where man transcends the barriers of the brute intellect. That point, if truly determined, ought to coincide with the starting point of language; and, if so, that coincidence ought to explain the problem which occupies us at present.

I shall read an extract from Locke's 'Essay Concerning Human Understanding.'

After having explained how universal ideas are made, how the mind, having observed the same color in chalk, and snow, and milk, comprehends these single perceptions under the general conception of whiteness, Locke continues: "If it may be doubted whether beasts compound and enlarge their ideas that way to any degree, this, I think, I may be positive in, that the

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power of abstracting is not at all in them; and that the having of general ideas is that which puts a perfect distinction betwixt man and brutes, and is an excellency which the faculties of brutes do by no means attain to."

If Locke is right in considering the having general ideas as the distinguishing feature between man and brutes, and, if we ourselves are right in pointing to language as the one palpable distinction between the two, it would seem to follow that language is the outward sign and realization of that inward faculty which is called the faculty of abstraction, but which is better known to us by the homely name of reason.

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CARDINAL NEWMAN

(JOHN HENRY, CARDINAL NEWMAN)

(1801–1890)

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, celebrated as a theologian, orator, and poet, was born at London, February 21th, 1801. He was educated at Oxford, and after his graduation there in 1820, was elected in 1822 a Fellow of Oriel College. Thus began his association with Doctor Pusey, which did so much to influence the religious opinions of England. In 1833 Newman actively engaged in «The Oxford Movement,» and finding a middle ground between the Anglican and the Catholic Church untenable for him, he entered the Catholic Church in 1845. That action greatly increased his celebrity which was well sustained by his subsequent writings and sermons. He was made a Cardinal, May 12th, 1879. His 'Verses on Various Occasions' were published in 1874, and the hymn, 'Lead, Kindly Light,' at once established an enduring place in the affections of the English-speaking world. He died August 11th, 1890.

PROPERTY AS A DISADVANTAGE

(From a Sermon Delivered at Oxford on the Text: «Woe unto ye that are rich, for ye have received your consolation»)

THE danger of possessing riches is the carnal security to which they lead. That of desiring and pursuing them is, that an object of this world is thus set before us as the aim and end of life. It seems to be the will of Christ that his followers shall have no aim or end, pursuit or business, merely of this world. Here, again, I speak as before, not in the way of precept, but of doctrine. I am looking at his holy religion as at a distance, and determining what is its general character and spirit, not what may happen to be the duty of this or that individual who has embraced it. It is his will that all we do should be done, not unto men, or to the world, or to self, but to his glory; and the more we are enabled to do this simply, the more

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favored we are whenever we act with reference to an object of this world. Even though it be ever so pure, we are exposed to the temptation (not irresistible, God forbid! still to the temptation) of setting our hearts upon obtaining it. And therefore we call all such objects excitements, as stimulating us incongruously; casting us out of the serenity and stability of heavenly faith; attracting us aside by their proximity from our harmonious round of duties; and making our thoughts converge to something short of that which is infinitely high and eternal. Such excitements are of perpetual occurrence, and the mere undergoing them, so far from involving guilt in the act itself or its results, is the great business of life and the discipline of our hearts. It is often a sin to withdraw from them, as has been the case of some, perhaps, who have gone into monasteries to serve God more entirely. On the other hand, it is the very duty of the spiritual ruler to labor for the flock committed to him, to suffer, and to dare. St. Paul was encompassed with excitements hence arising, and his writings show the agitating effect of them on his mind. He was like David, a man of war and blood, and that for our sakes. Still it holds good that the essential spirit of the Gospel is "quietness and confidence"; that the possession of these is the highest gift, and to gain them perfectly our main aim. Consequently, however much a duty it is to undergo excitements when they are sent upon us, it is plainly unchristian, a manifest foolishness and sin, to seek out any such, whether secular or religious. . . .

Men of energetic minds and talents for action are called to a life of trouble; they are the compensations and antagonists of the world's evils; still let them never forget their place. They are men of war, and we war that we may obtain peace. They are but men of war, honored, indeed, by God's choice, and, in spite of all momentary excitements, resting in the depth of their hearts upon the one true vision of Christian faith. Still, after all, they are but soldiers in the open field, not builders of the Temple, nor inhabitants of those "amiable" and specially blessed "tabernacles," where the worshiper lives in praise and intercession, and is militant amid the unostentatious duties of ordinary life. "Martha, Martha, thou art anxious and troubled about many things; but one thing is needful, and Mary has chosen that good part which shall not be taken away from her." Such is our Lord's judgment, showing that our true happiness consists in

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being at leisure to serve God without excitements. For this gift we specially pray in one of our collects: "Grant, O Lord, that the course of this world may be so peaceably ordered by thy governance, that thy Church may joyfully serve thee in all godly quietness." Persecution, civil changes, and the like, break in upon the Church's calm. The greatest privilege of a Christian is to have nothing to do with worldly politics — to be governed, to submit obediently; and though here again selfishness may creep in, and lead a man to neglect public concerns in which he is called to take his share, yet, after all, such participation must be regarded as a duty, scarcely as a privilege; as the fulfillment of trusts committed to him for the good of others, not as the enjoyment of rights (as men talk in these days of delusion), not as if political power were in itself a good.

I say, then, that it is a part of Christian caution to see that our engagements do not become pursuits. Engagements are our portion, but pursuits are for the most part of our own choosing. We may be engaged in worldly business without pursuing worldly objects. "Not slothful in business," yet "serving the Lord." In this, then, consists the danger of the pursuit of gain, as by trade and the like. It is the most common and widely-spread of all excitements. It is one in which every one almost may indulge, nay, and will be praised by the world for indulging. And it lasts through life; in that differing from the amusements and pleasures of the world, which are short-lived and succeed one after another. Dissipation of mind, which these amusements create, is itself, indeed, miserable enough; but far worse than this dissipation is the concentration of mind upon some worldly object which admits of being constantly pursued; and such is the pursuit of gain. Nor is it a slight aggravation of the evil that anxiety is almost sure to attend it. A life of money-getting is a life of care. From the first there is a fretful anticipation of loss in various ways to depress and unsettle the mind, nay, to haunt it, till a man finds he can think about nothing else, and is unable to give his mind to religion from the constant whirl of business in which he is involved. It is well this should be understood. You may hear men talk as if the pursuit of wealth was the business of life. They will argue that, by the law of nature, a man is bound to gain a livelihood for his family, and that he finds a reward in doing so — an innocent and honorable satisfaction — as he adds one sum to another, and counts up his

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gains. And, perhaps, they go on to argue that it is the very duty of man, since Adam's fall, "in the sweat of his face," by effort and anxiety, "to eat bread." How strange it is that they do not remember Christ's gracious promise, repealing that original curse and obviating the necessity of any real pursuit after "the meat that perisheth." In order that we might be delivered from the bondage of corruption, he has expressly told us that the necessaries of life shall never fail his faithful follower any more than the meal and oil the widow woman of Sarepta; that while he is bound to labor for his family, he need not be engrossed by his toil — that while he is busy, his heart may be at leisure for his Lord. "Be not anxious, saying: What shall we eat? or, what shall we drink? or, wherewithal shall we be clothed? For after all these things do the Gentiles seek; and your Heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of these things." . . .

I have now given the main reason why the pursuit of gain, whether in a large or a small way, is prejudicial to our spiritual interests — that it fixes the mind upon an object of this world. Yet others remain behind. Money is a sort of creation, and gives the acquirer even more than the possessor an imagination of his own power, and tends to make him idolize self. Again, what we have hardly won, we are unwilling to part with; so that a man who has himself made his wealth will commonly be penurious, or at least will not part with it except in exchange for what will reflect credit on himself and increase his importance. Even when his conduct is most disinterested and amiable (as in spending for the comfort of those who depend on him), still this indulgence of self, of pride, and worldliness, insinuates itself. Very unlikely, therefore, is it that he should be liberal towards God; for religious offerings are an expenditure without sensible return, and that upon objects for which the very pursuit of wealth has indisposed his mind. Moreover, if it may be added, there is a considerable tendency in occupations connected with gain to make a man unfair in his dealings; that is, in a subtle way. There are so many conventional deceits and prevarications in the details of the world's business, so much intricacy in the management of accounts, so many perplexed questions about justice and equity, so many plausible subterfuges and fictions of law, so much confusion between the distinct yet approximating outlines of honesty and civil enactment, that it requires a very straightforward mind to keep firm hold of strict conscientiousness, honor, and

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truth, and to look at matters in which he is engaged as he would have looked on them supposing he now came upon them all at once as a stranger.

And if such be the effect of the pursuit of gain on an individual, doubtless it will be the same on a nation. Only let us consider the fact that we are a money-making people, with our Savior's declaration before us against wealth, and trust in wealth, and we shall have abundant matter for serious thought.

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DANIEL O'CONNELL

(1775–1847)

After hearing O'Connell, John Randolph, of Roanoke, called him "the first orator of Europe." According to Disraeli, "his voice was the finest ever heard in Parliament, distinct, deep, sonorous, and flexible." His style was unadorned and frequently slovenly, but the historian Lecky says that the "listener seemed almost to follow the workings of his mind,—to perceive him hewing his thoughts into rhetoric with a negligent but colossal grandeur; with the chisel not of a Canova, but of a Michael Angelo." In his use of epithet he was often bitter, as when he spoke of "Scorpion Stanley," and it is doubtful if his comparison of Sir Robert Peel's smile to the shine of a silver plate on a coffin has ever been equaled in strangeness or in force. In addressing an Irish audience, it is said that he could "whine and wheedle and wink with one eye while he wept with the other." In the long struggle as an agitator which finally resulted in Catholic emancipation and almost in permanent autonomy for Ireland, he showed himself one of the most effective popular leaders of modern times. If those who read his speeches now are not fired by them as his audiences were, it is because the agitator must always speak to his own generation rather than to posterity, and must strive to achieve results which will endure in improved modes of life for his fellows rather than in polished sentences or nicely balanced periods. Like his great successor, Parnell, O'Connell, though frequently rough and sometimes even uncouth in expression, was always effective in reaching those to whom he appealed. Born in County Kerry, Ireland, August 6th, 1775, O'Connell made his first great reputation at the bar, but, great as it was, he obscured it by his work for Catholic emancipatior. and as the leader of the Repeal Agitation of 1840. He was elected to the English Parliament in 1828. Always a thorn in the side of the English Conservatives, he forced issues with them by the mass meeting of 1842–43, until they were compelled to arrest and convict him for sedition. In the seventeenth century he might have been drawn, hanged, and quartered after his sentence, but as he lived in the nineteenth it was reversed the year after it was pronounced. He died in Italy, May 15th, 1847.

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IRELAND WORTH DYING FOR

(Delivered at Mullaghmast in Favor of Annulling the Union with England, September 1843)

I ACCEPT with the greatest alacrity the high honor you have done me in calling me to the chair of this majestic meeting.

I feel more honored than I ever did in my life, with one single exception, and that related to, if possible, an equally majestic meeting at Tara. But I must say that if a comparison were instituted between them, it would take a more discriminating eye than mine to discover any difference between them. There are the same incalculable numbers; there is the same firmness; there is the same determination; there is the same exhibition of love to old Ireland; there is the same resolution not to violate the peace; not to be guilty of the slightest outrage; not to give the enemy power by committing a crime, but peacefully and manfully to stand together in the open day, to protest before man and in the presence of God against the iniquity of continuing the Union.

At Tara, I protested against the Union — I repeat the protest at Mullaghmast. I declare solemnly my thorough conviction as a constitutional lawyer, that the Union is totally void in point of principle and of constitutional force. I tell you that no portion of the empire had the power to traffic on the rights and liberties of the Irish people. The Irish people nominated them to make laws, and not legislatures. They were appointed to act under the Constitution, and not annihilate it. Their delegation from the people was confined within the limits of the Constitution, and the moment the Irish Parliament went beyond those limits and destroyed the Constitution, that moment it annihilated its own power, but could not annihilate the immortal spirit of liberty, which belongs, as a rightful inheritance, to the people of Ireland. Take it then from me that the Union is void. I admit there is the force of a law, because it has been supported by the policeman's truncheon, by the soldier's bayonet, and by the horseman's sword; because it is supported by the courts of law and those who have power to adjudicate in them; but I say solemnly, it is not supported by constitutional right. The Union, therefore, in my thorough conviction, is totally void, and I avail myself of this opportunity to announce to several hundreds of thousands

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of my fellow-subjects that the Union is an unconstitutional law and that it is not fated to last long — its hour is approaching. America offered us her sympathy and support. We refused the support, but we accepted the sympathy; and while we accepted the sympathy of the Americans, we stood upon the firm ground of the right of every human being to liberty; and I, in the name of the Irish nation, declare that no support obtained from America should be purchased by the price of abandoning principle for one moment, and that principle is, that every human being is entitled to freedom.

My friends, I want nothing for the Irish but their country, and I think the Irish are competent to obtain their own country for themselves. I like to have the sympathy of every good man everywhere, but I want not armed support or physical strength from any country. The Republican party in France offered me assistance. I thanked them for their sympathy, but I distinctly refused to accept any support from them. I want support from neither France nor America, and if that usurper, Louis Philippe, who trampled on the liberties of his own gallant nation, thought fit to assail me in his newspaper, I returned the taunt with double vigor, and I denounce him to Europe and the world as a treacherous tyrant, who has violated the compact with his own country, and therefore is not fit to assist the liberties of any other country. I want not the support of France; I want not the support of America; I have physical support enough about me to achieve any change; but you know well that it is not my plan,— I will not risk the safety of one of you. I could not afford the loss of one of you,— I will protect you all, and it is better for you all to be merry and alive, to enjoy the repeal of the Union; but there is not a man of you there that would not, if we were attacked unjustly and illegally, be ready to stand in the open field by my side. Let every man that concurs in that sentiment lift up his hand.

[All hands were lifted.]

The assertion of that sentiment is our sure protection, for no person will attack us, and we will attack nobody. Indeed, it would be the height of absurdity for us to think of making any attack; for there is not one man in his senses in Europe or America that does not admit that the repeal of the Union is now inevitable. The English papers taunted us, and their writers

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laughed us to scorn; but now they admit that it is impossible to resist the application for repeal. More power to you. But that even shows we have power enough to know how to use it. Why, it is only this week that one of the leading London newspapers, called the Morning Herald, which had a reporter at the Lismore meeting, published an account of that great and mighty meeting, and in that account the writer expressly says that it will be impossible to refuse so peaceable, so determined, so unanimous a people as the people of Ireland the restoration of their domestic legislature. For my own part, I would have thought it wholly unnecessary to call together so large a meeting as this, but for the trick played by Wellington, and Peel, and Graham, and Stanley, and the rest of the paltry administration, by whose government this country is disgraced. I don't suppose so worthless an administration ever before got together. Lord Stanley is a renegade from Whiggism, and Sir James Graham is worse. Sir Robert Peel has five hundred colors on his bad standard, and not one of them is permanent. To-day it is orange, to-morrow it will be green, the day after neither one nor the other, but we shall take care that it shall never be dyed in blood.

Then there is the poor old Duke of Wellington, and nothing was ever so absurd as their deification of him in England. The English historian — rather the Scotch one — Alison, an arrant Tory, admits that the Duke of Wellington was surprised at Waterloo, and if he got victoriously out of that battle, it was owing to the valor of the British troops and their unconquerable determination to die, but not to yield. No man is ever a good soldier but the man who goes into the battle determined to conquer or not come back from the battlefield. No other principle makes a good soldier; conquer or die is the battle-cry for the good soldier; conquer or die is his only security. The Duke of Wellington had troops at Waterloo that had learned that word, and there were Irish troops amongst them. You all remember the verses made by the poor Shan Van Vocht: —

> "At famed Waterloo
> Duke Wellington would look blue
> If Paddy was not there too,
> Says the Shan Van Vocht."

Yes, the glory he got there was bought by the blood of the English, Irish, and Scotch soldiers — the glory was yours. He is

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nominally a member of the administration, but yet they would not intrust him with any kind of office. He has no duty at all to perform, but a sort of Irish anti-repeal warden. I thought I never would be obliged to the ministry, but I am obliged to them. They put a speech abusing the Irish into the Queen's mouth. They accused us of disaffection, but they lied; it is their speech; there is no disaffection in Ireland. We were loyal to the sovereigns of Great Britain, even when they were our enemies; we were loyal to George III. even when he betrayed us; we were loyal to George IV. when he blubbered and cried when we forced him to emancipate us; we were loyal to old Billy, though his minister put into his mouth a base, bloody, and intolerant speech against Ireland; and we are loyal to the Queen, no matter what our enemies may say to the contrary. It is not the Queen's speech, and I pronounce it to be a lie. There is no dissatisfaction in Ireland, but there is this — a full determination to obtain justice and liberty. I am much obliged to the ministry for that speech, for it gives me, amongst other things, an opportunity of addressing such meetings as this. I had held the monster meetings. I had fully demonstrated the opinion of Ireland. I was convinced their unanimous determination to obtain liberty was sufficiently signified by the many meetings already held; but when the minister's speech came out, it was necessary to do something more. Accordingly, I called a monster meeting in Loughrea. I called another meeting in Cliffden. I had another monster meeting in Lismore, and here now we are assembled on the Rath of Mullaghmast.

At Mullaghmast (and I have chosen this for this obvious reason), we are on the precise spot where English treachery — aye, and false Irish treachery, too — consummated a massacre that has never been imitated, save in the massacre of the Mamelukes by Mahomet Ali. It was necessary to have Turks atrocious enough to commit a crime equal to that perpetrated by Englishmen. But do not think that the massacre at Mullaghmast was a question between Protestants and Catholics — it was no such thing. The murdered persons were to be sure Catholics, but a great number of the murderers were also Catholic and Irishmen, because there were then, as well as now, many Catholics who were traitors to Ireland. But we have now this advantage, that we may have many honest Protestants joining us — joining us heartily in hand and heart, for old Ireland and liberty. I thought this a fit and

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becoming spot to celebrate, in the open day, our unanimity in declaring our determination not to be misled by any treachery. Oh, my friends, I will keep you clear of all treachery — there shall be no bargain, no compromise with England — we shall take nothing but repeal, and a parliament in College Green. You will never, by my advice, confide in any false hopes they hold out to you; never confide in anything coming from them, or cease from your struggle, no matter what promise may be held to you, until you hear me say I am satisfied; and I will tell you where I will say that — near the statue of King William, in College Green. No; we came here to express our determination to die to a man, if necessary, in the cause of old Ireland. We came to take advice of each other, and, above all, I believe you came here to take my advice. I can tell you, I have the game in my hand — I have the triumph secure — I have the repeal certain, if you but obey my advice.

I will go slow, — you must allow me to do so, — but you will go sure. No man shall find himself imprisoned or persecuted who follows my advice. I have led you thus far in safety; I have swelled the multitude of repealers until they are identified with the entire population, or nearly the entire population of the land, for seven-eighths of the Irish people are now enrolling themselves repealers. [Cheers and cries of "More power to you."] I don't want more power; I have power enough; and all I ask of you is to allow me to use it. I will go on quietly and slowly, but I will go on firmly, and with a certainty of success. I am now arranging a plan for the formation of the Irish House of Commons.

It is a theory, but it is a theory that may be realized in three weeks. The repeal arbitrators are beginning to act; the people are submitting their differences to men chosen by themselves. You will see by the newspapers that Doctor Gray and my son, and other gentlemen, have already held a petty session of their own, where justice will be administered free of all expense to the people. The people shall have chosen magistrates of their own in the room of the magistrates who have been removed. The people shall submit their differences to them, and shall have strict justice administered to them that shall not cost them a single farthing. I shall go on with that plan until we have all disputes settled and decided by justices appointed by the people themselves. [Long may you live!] I wish to live long enough

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to have perfect justice administered to Ireland, and liberty proclaimed throughout the land. It will take me some time to prepare my plan for the formation of the new Irish House of Commons — that plan which we will yet submit to her Majesty for her approval when she gets rid of her present paltry administration and has one that I can support. But I must finish that job before I go forth, and one of my reasons for calling you together is to state my intentions to you. Before I arrange my plan, the Conciliation Hall will be finished, and it will be worth any man's while to go from Mullaghmast to Dublin to see it.

When we have it arranged I will call together three hundred, as the Times called them, "bogtrotters," but better men never stepped on pavement. But I will have the three hundred, and no thanks to them. Wales is up at present, almost in a state of insurrection. The people there have found that the landlords' power is too great, and has been used tyranically, and I believe you agree with them tolerably well in that. They insist on the sacredness of the right of the tenants to security of possession, and with the equity of tenure which I would establish we will do the landlords full justice, but we will do the people justice also. We will recollect that the land is the landlord's, and let him have the benefit of it, but we will also recollect that the labor belongs to the tenant, and the tenant must have the value of his labor, not transitory and by the day, but permanently and by the year. Yes, my friends, for this purpose I must get some time. I worked the present repeal year tolerably well. I believe no one in January last would believe that we could have such a meeting within the year as the Tara demonstration. You may be sure of this,—and I say it in the presence of him who will judge me,—that I never will willfully deceive you. I have but one wish under heaven, and that is for the liberty and prosperity of Ireland. I am for leaving England to the English, Scotland to the Scotch, but we must have Ireland for the Irish. I will not be content until I see not a single man in any office, from the lowest constable to the lord chancellor, but Irishmen. This is our land, and we must have it. We will be obedient to the Queen, joined to England by the golden link of the Crown, but we must have our own parliament, our own bench, our own magistrates, and we will give some of the *shoneens* who now occupy the bench leave to retire, such as those lately appointed by Sugden. He is a pretty boy, sent here from England; but I ask: Did you ever hear

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such a name as he has got? I remember, in Wexford, a man told me he had a pig at home which he was so fond of that he would call it Sugden. No; we shall get judicial independence for Ireland. It is for this purpose we are assembled here to-day, as every countenance I see around me testifies. If there is any one here who is for the Union, let him say so. Is there anybody here for the repeal? [Cries of "All, all!"]

Yes, my friends, the Union was begot in iniquity—it was perpetuated in fraud and cruelty. It was no compact, no bargain, but it was an act of the most decided tyranny and corruption that was ever yet perpetrated. Trial by jury was suspended—the right of personal protection was at an end—courts-martial sat throughout the land—and the county of Kildare, among others, flowed with blood. Oh, my friends, listen now to the man of peace, who will never expose you to the power of your enemies. In 1798 there were some brave men, some valiant men, to head the people at large; but there were many traitors, who left the people in the power of their enemies. The Curragh of Kildare afforded an instance of the fate which Irishmen were to expect, who confided in their Saxon enemies. Oh, it was an ill-organized, a premature, a foolish, and an absurd insurrection; but you have a leader now who never will allow you to commit any act so foolish or so destructive. How delighted do I feel with the thorough conviction which has come over the minds of the people, that they could not gratify your enemies more than by committing a crime. No; our ancestors suffered for confiding in the English, but we never will confide in them. They suffered for being divided amongst themselves. There is no division amongst us. They suffered for their own dissensions—for not standing man to man by each other's side. We shall stand peaceably side by side in the face of every enemy. Oh, how delighted was I in the scenes which I witnessed as I came along here to-day! How my heart throbbed, how my spirit was elevated, how my bosom swelled with delight at the multitude which I beheld, and which I shall behold, of the stalwart and strong men of Kildare! I was delighted at the activity and force that I saw around me, and my old heart grew warm again in admiring the beauty of the dark-eyed maids and matrons of Kildare. Oh, there is a starlight sparkling from the eye of a Kildare beauty, that is scarcely equaled, and could not be excelled, all over the world. And remember that you are the sons, the fathers, the brothers,

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and the husbands of such women, and a traitor or a coward could never be connected with any of them. Yes, I am in a county, remarkable in the history of Ireland for its bravery and its misfortune, for its credulity in the faith of others, for its people judged of the Saxon by the honesty and honor of their own natures. I am in a county celebrated for the sacredness of its shrines and fanes. I am in a county where the lamp of Kildare's holy shrine burned with its sacred fire, through ages of darkness and storm — that fire which for six centuries burned before the high altar without being extinguished, being fed continuously, without the slightest interruption, and it seemed to me to have been not an inapt representation of the continuous fidelity and religious love of country of the men of Kildare. Yes, you have those high qualities — religious fidelity, continuous love of country. Even your enemies admit that the world has never produced any people that exceeded the Irish in activity and strength. The Scottish philosopher has declared, and the French philosopher has confirmed it, that number one in the human race is, blessed be heaven, the Irishman. In moral virtue, in religion, in perseverance, and in glorious temperance, you excel. Have I any teetotallers here? Yes, it is teetotalism that is repealing the Union. I could not afford to bring you together, I would not dare to bring you together, but that I had the teetotalers for my police.

Yes, among the nations of the earth, Ireland stands number one in the physical strength of her sons and in the beauty and purity of her daughters. Ireland, land of my forefathers, how my mind expands, and my spirit walks abroad in something of majesty, when I contemplate the high qualities, inestimable virtues, and true purity and piety and religious fidelity of the inhabitants of your green fields and productive mountains. Oh, what a scene surrounds us! It is not only the countless thousands of brave and active and peaceable and religious men that are here assembled, but Nature herself has written her character with the finest beauty in the verdant plains that surround us. Let any man run round the horizon with his eye, and tell me if created nature ever produced anything so green and so lovely, so undulating, so teeming with production. The richest harvests that any land can produce are those reaped in Ireland; and then here are the sweetest meadows, the greenest fields, the loftiest mountains, the purest streams, the noblest rivers, the most capacious harbors — and her water power is equal to turn the

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machinery of the whole world. Oh, my friends, it is a country worth fighting for — it is a country worth dying for; but above all, it is a country worth being tranquil, determined, submissive, and docile for; disciplined as you are in obedience to those who are breaking the way, and trampling down the barriers between you and your constitutional liberty, I will see every man of you having a vote, and every man protected by the ballot from the agent or landlord. I will see labor protected, and every title to possession recognized, when you are industrious and honest. I will see prosperity again throughout your land — the busy hum of the shuttle and the tinkling of the smithy shall be heard again. We shall see the nailer employed even until the middle of the night, and the carpenter covering himself with his chips. I will see prosperity in all its gradations spreading through a happy, contented, religious land. I will hear the hymn of a happy people go forth at sunrise to God in praise of his mercies — and I will see the evening sun set down amongst the uplifted hands of a religious and free population. Every blessing that man can bestow and religion can confer upon the faithful heart shall spread throughout the land. Stand by me — join with me — I will say be obedient to me, and Ireland shall be free.

DEMANDING JUSTICE

(From a Speech Delivered in the House of Commons, February 4th, 1836)

IT APPEARS to me impossible to suppose that the House will consider me presumptuous in wishing to be heard for a short time on this question, especially after the distinct manner in which I have been alluded to in the course of the debate. If I had no other excuse, that would be sufficient; but I do not want it; I have another and a better — the question is one in the highest degree interesting to the people of Ireland. It is, whether we mean to do justice to that country — whether we mean to continue the injustice which has been already done to it, or to hold out the hope that it will be treated in the same manner as England and Scotland. That is the question. We know what "lip service" is; we do not want that. There are some men who will even declare that they are willing to refuse justice to Ireland; while there are others who, though they are ashamed to say so, are ready to consummate the iniquity, and they do so.

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England never did do justice to Ireland — she never did. What we have got of it, we have extorted from men opposed to us on principle — against which principle they have made us such concessions as we have obtained from them. The right honorable baronet opposite [Sir Robert Peel] says he does not distinctly understand what is meant by a principle. I believe him. He advocated religious exclusion on religious motives: he yielded that point at length, when we were strong enough to make it prudent for him to do so.

Here am I calling for justice to Ireland; but there is a coalition to-night — not a base unprincipled one — God forbid! — it is an extremely natural one; I mean that between the right honorable baronet and the noble lord the Member for North Lancashire [Lord Stanley]. It is a natural coalition — and it is impromptu; for the noble lord informs us he had not even a notion of taking the part he has, until the moment at which he seated himself where he now is. I know his candor: he told us it was a sudden inspiration which induced him to take part against Ireland. I believe it with the most potent faith, because I know that he requires no preparation for voting against the interests of the Irish people. [Groans.] I thank you for that groan — it is just of a piece with the rest. I regret much that I have been thrown upon arguing this particular question, because I should have liked to have dwelt upon the speech which has been so graciously delivered from the throne to-day — to have gone into its details, and to have pointed out the many great and beneficial alterations and amendments in our existing institutions which it hints at and recommends to the House. The speech of last year was full of reforms in words, and in words only; but this speech contains the great leading features of all the salutary reforms the country wants; and if they are worked out fairly and honestly in detail, I am convinced the country will require no further amelioration of its institutions, and that it will become the envy and admiration of the world. I, therefore, hail the speech with great satisfaction.

It has been observed that the object of a King's speech is to say as little in as many words as possible; but this speech contains more things than words — it contains those great principles which, adopted in practice, will be most salutary, not only to the British Empire, but to the world. When speaking of our foreign policy, it rejoices in the co-operation between France and this

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country; but it abstains from conveying any ministerial approbation of alterations in the domestic laws of that country which aim at the suppression of public liberty, and the checking of public discussion, such as call for individual reprobation, and which I reprobate as much as any one. I should like to know whether there is a statesman in the country who will get up in this House and avow his approval of such proceedings on the part of the French Government. I know it may be done out of the House amid the cheers of an assembly of friends; but the Government have, in my opinion, wisely abstained from reprobating such measures in the speech, while they have properly exulted in such a union of the two countries as will contribute to the national independence and the public liberty of Europe. . . .

Years are coming over me, but my heart is as young and as ready as ever in the service of my country, of which I glory in being the pensionary and the hired advocate. I stand in a situation in which no man ever stood yet — the faithful friend of my country — its servant — its slave, if you will — I speak its sentiments by turns to you and to itself. I require no £20,000,000 on behalf of Ireland — I ask you only for justice: — will you — can you — I will not say dare you refuse, because that would make you turn the other way. I implore you, as English gentlemen, to take this matter into consideration now, because you never had such an opportunity of conciliating. Experience makes fools wise; you are not fools, but you have yet to be convinced. I cannot forget the year 1825. We begged then as we would for a beggar's boon; we asked for emancipation by all that is sacred amongst us, and I remember how my speech and person were treated on the Treasury Bench, when I had no opportunity of reply. The other place turned us out and sent us back again, but we showed that justice was with us. The noble lord says the other place has declared the same sentiments with himself; but he could not use a worse argument. It is the very reason why we should acquiesce in the measure of reform, for we have no hope from that House — all our hopes are centred in this; and I am the living representative of those hopes. I have no other reason for adhering to the ministry than because they, the chosen representatives of the people of England, are anxiously determined to give the same measure of reform to Ireland as that which England has received. I have not fatigued myself, but the House, in coming forward upon this occasion. I may be

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laughed and sneered at by those who talk of my power; but what has created it but the injustice that has been done in Ireland? That is the end and the means of the magic, if you please — the groundwork of my influence in Ireland. If you refuse justice to that country, it is a melancholy consideration to me to think that you are adding substantially to that power and influence, while you are wounding my country to its very heart's core; weakening that throne, the monarch who sits upon which, you say you respect; severing that union which, you say, is bound together by the tightest links, and withholding that justice from Ireland which she will not cease to seek till it is obtained; every man must admit that the course I am taking is the legitimate and proper course — I defy any man to say it is not. Condemn me elsewhere as much as you please, but this you must admit. You may taunt the ministry with having coalesced me, you may raise the vulgar cry of "Irishman and Papist" against me, you may send out men called ministers of God to slander and calumniate me; they may assume whatever garb they please, but the question comes into this narrow compass. I demand, I respectfully insist on equal justice for Ireland, on the same principle by which it has been administered to Scotland and England. I will not take less. Refuse me that if you can.

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HARRISON GRAY OTIS

(1765–1848)

HARRISON GRAY OTIS, nephew of James Otis, and a leader among New England Federalists, was born in Boston, October 8th, 1765. He was educated at the Boston Latin School and at Harvard University. After studying law in Boston, he was elected to succeed Fisher Ames in the House of Representatives, where he opposed Jefferson's theories with great vigor. Leaving the House in 1801, he was Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives in 1803, and two years later was elected to the Presidency of the State Senate where he served until 1814. In that year he was one of the leading members of the Hartford Convention; in the year following he was elected to the United States Senate where he remained until 1822. He died October 28th, 1848. It is said that during the delivery of his oration on Hamilton, "all hung with breathless admiration on his words, and at the end, in stillness indicative of the deepest sorrow, returned to their homes with only the consolation that such men as Ames and Otis remained."

HAMILTON'S INFLUENCE ON AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS

(Pronounced at the Request of the Citizens of Boston, July 26th, 1804)

WE ARE convened, afflicted fellow-citizens, to perform the only duties which our republics acknowledge or fulfill to their illustrious dead; to present to departed excellence an oblation of gratitude and respect; to inscribe its virtues on the urn which contains its ashes; and to consecrate its example by the tears and sympathy of an affectionate people.

Must we, then, realize that Hamilton is no more! Must the sod, not yet cemented on the tomb of Washington, still moist with our tears, be so soon disturbed to admit the beloved companion of Washington, the partner of his dangers, the object of his confidence, the disciple who leaned upon his bosom! Insatiable Death! Will not the heroes and statesmen, whom mad ambition has sent from the crimsoned fields of Europe, suffice to people

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thy dreary dominions! Thy dismal avenues have been thronged with princely martyrs and illustrious victims. Crowns and sceptres, the spoils of royalty, are among thy recent trophies, and the blood of innocence and valor has flowed in torrents at thy inexorable command. Such have been thy ravages in the Old World. And in our infant country how small was the remnant of our Revolutionary heroes which had been spared from thy fatal grasp! Could not our Warren, our Montgomery, our Mercer, our Greene, our Washington appease thy vengeance for a few short years! Shall none of our early patriots be permitted to behold the perfection of their own work in the stability of our government and the maturity of our institutions! Or hast thou predetermined, dread King of Terrors, to blast the world's best hope, and by depriving us of all the conductors of our glorious Revolution, compel us to bury our liberties in their tombs! O Hamilton, great would be the relief of my mind, were I permitted to exchange the arduous duty of attempting to portray the varied excellence of thy character, for the privilege of venting the deep and unavailing sorrow which swells my bosom, at the remembrance of the gentleness of thy nature, of thy splendid talents and placid virtues! But, my respected friends, an indulgence of these feelings would be inconsistent with that deliberate recital of the services and qualities of this great man, which is required by impartial justice and your expectations.

In governments which recognize the distinctions of splendid birth and titles, the details of illustrious lineage and connections become interesting to those who are accustomed to value those advantages. But in the man whose loss we deplore, the interval between manhood and death was so uniformly filled by a display of the energies of his mighty mind that the world has scarcely paused to inquire into the story of his infant or puerile years. He was a planet, the dawn of which was not perceived; which rose with full splendor, and emitted a constant stream of glorious light until the hour of its sudden and portentous eclipse.

At the age of eighteen, while cultivating his mind at Columbia College, he was roused from the leisure and delights of scientific groves by the din of war. He entered the American army as an officer of artillery, and at that early period familiarized himself to wield both his sword and his pen in the service of his country. He developed at once the qualities which command precedency and the modesty which conceals its pretensions.

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Frank, affable, intelligent and brave, young Hamilton became the favorite of his fellow-soldiers. His intuitive perception and correct judgment rendered him a rapid proficient in military science, and his merit silenced the envy which it excited.

A most honorable distinction now awaited him. He attracted the attention of the commander in chief, who appointed him an aid and honored him with his confidence and friendship. This domestic relation afforded to both frequent means of comparing their opinions upon the policy and destinies of our country, upon the sources of its future prosperity and grandeur, upon the imperfection of its existing establishments, and to digest those principles, which, in happier times, might be interwoven into a more perfect model of government. Hence, probably, originated that filial veneration for Washington and adherence to his maxims, which were ever conspicuous in the deportment of Hamilton; and hence the exalted esteem and predilection uniformly displayed by the magnanimous patron to the faithful and affectionate pupil.

While the disasters of the American army and the perseverance of the British ministry presented the gloomy prospect of protracted warfare, young Hamilton appeared to be content in his station, and with the opportunities which he had of fighting by the side, and executing the orders of his beloved chief. But the investment of the army of Cornwallis suddenly changed the aspect of affairs and rendered it probable that this campaign, if successful, would be the most brilliant and decisive of any that was likely to occur. It now appeared that his heart had long panted for an occasion to signalize his intrepidity and devotion to the service of his country. He obtained, by earnest entreaties, the command of a detachment destined to storm the works of Yorktown. It is well known with what undaunted courage he pressed on to the assault, with unloaded arms, presented his bosom to the dangers of the bayonet, carried the fort, and thus eminently contributed to decide the fate of the battle and of his country. But even here the impetuosity of the youthful conqueror was restrained by the clemency of the benevolent man: the butchery of the American garrison at New London would have justified and seemed to demand an exercise of the rigors of retaliation. This was strongly intimated to Colonel Hamilton, but we find in his report to his commanding officer, in his own words, that, "incapable of imitating examples of barbarity, and

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forgetting recent provocations, he spared every man who ceased to resist."

Having, soon afterwards, terminated his military career, he returned to New York and qualified himself to commence practice as a counselor at law. But the duties and emoluments of his profession were not then permitted to stifle his solicitude to give a correct tone to public opinion by the propagation of principles worthy of adoption by a people who had just undertaken to govern themselves. He found the minds of men chafed and irritated by the recollection of their recent sufferings and dangers. The city of New York, so long a garrison, presented scenes and incidents which naturally aggravated these dispositions, and too many were inclined to fan the flame of discord and mar the enjoyment and advantages of peace, by fomenting the animosities engendered by the collisions of war. To soothe these angry passions, to heal these wounds, to demonstrate the folly and inexpediency of scattering the bitter tares of national prejudice and private rancor among the seeds of public prosperity, were objects worthy of the heart and head of Hamilton. To these he applied himself and, by a luminous pamphlet, assuaged the public resentment against those whose sentiments had led them to oppose the Revolution, and thus preserved from exile many valuable citizens who have supported the laws and increased the opulence of their native State.

From this period he appears to have devoted himself principally to professional occupations, which were multiplied by his increasing celebrity until he became a member of the convention which met at Annapolis, merely for the purpose of devising a mode of levying and collecting a general impost. Although the object of this convention was thus limited, yet so manifold in his view were the defects of the old confederation, that a reform, in one particular, would be ineffectual; he, therefore, first suggested the proposal of attempting a radical change in its principles, and the address to the people of the United States recommending a general convention, with more extensive powers, which was adopted by that assembly, was the work of his pen.

To the second convention, which framed the Constitution, he was also deputed as a delegate from the State of New York.

In that assemblage of the brightest jewels of America, the genius of Hamilton sparkled with pre-eminent lustre. The best of our orators were improved by the example of his eloquence.

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The most experienced of our statesmen were instructed by the solidity of his sentiments, and all were convinced of the utility and extent of his agency in framing the Constitution.

When the instrument was presented to the people for their ratification, the obstacles incident to every attempt to combine the interests, views, and opinions of the various States threatened, in some of them, to frustrate the hopes and exertions of its friends. The fears of the timid, the jealousies of the ignorant, the arts of the designing, and the sincere conviction of the superficial, were arrayed into a formidable alliance, in opposition to the system. But the magic pen of Hamilton dissolved this league. Animated by the magnitude of his object, he enriched the daily papers with the researches of a mind teeming with political information. In these rapid essays, written amid the avocations of business, and under the pressure of the occasion, it would be natural to expect that much would require revision and correction; but in the mind of Hamilton nothing was superficial but resentment of injuries, nothing fugitive but those transient emotions which sometimes lead virtue astray. These productions of his pen are now considered as a standard commentary upon the nature of our Government, and he lived to hear them quoted by his friends and adversaries, as high authority in the tribunals of justice and in the legislature of the nation.

When the Constitution was adopted, and Washington was called to the presidency by his grateful country, our departed friend was appointed to the charge of the Treasury Department, and of consequence became a confidential member of the administration. In this new sphere of action he displayed a ductility and extent of genius, a fertility in expedients, a faculty of arrangement, an industry in application to business, and a promptitude in despatch; but, beyond all, a purity of public virtue and disinterestedness which are too mighty for the grasp of my feeble powers of description. Indeed, the public character of Hamilton and his measures from this period are so intimately connected with the history of our country that it is impossible to do justice to one without devoting a volume to the other. The Treasury of the United States at the time of his entrance upon the duties of his office was literally a creature of the imagination, and existed only in name, unless folios of unsettled balances and bundles of reproachful claims were deserving the name of a Treasury. Money there was none, and of public credit scarcely a shadow re-

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mained. No national system for raising and collecting a revenue had been attempted, and no estimate could be formed from the experiments of the different States of the probable result of any project of deriving it from commerce. The national debt was not only unpaid, but its amount was a subject of uncertainty and conjecture. Such was the chaos from which the Secretary was called upon to elicit the elements of a regular system, adequate to the immediate exigencies of a new and expensive establishment, and to an honorable provision for the public debt. His arduous duty was not to reform abuses, but to create resources; not to improve upon precedent, but to invent a model. In an ocean of experiment he had neither chart nor compass, but those of his own invention. Yet such was the comprehensive vigor of his mind that his original projects possessed the hardihood of settled regulations. His sketches were little short of the perfection of finished pictures. In the first session of Congress he produced a plan for the organization of the Treasury Department and for the collection of a national revenue, and in the second a report of a system for funding the national debt. Great objections were urged against the expediency of the principles assumed by him for the basis of his system; but no doubt remained of their effect. A dormant capital was revived, and with it commerce and agriculture awoke as from the sleep of death. By the enchantment of this "mighty magician," the beauteous fabric of public credit rose in full majesty upon the ruins of the old confederation, and men gazed with astonishment upon a youthful prodigy, who, at the age of thirty-three, having already been the ornament of the camp, the forum, and the Senate, was now suddenly transformed into an accomplished financier and a self-taught adept, not only in the general principles, but the intricate details of his new department.

It is not wonderful that such resplendent powers of doing right should have exposed him to the suspicion of doing wrong. He was suspected and accused. His political adversaries were his judges. Their investigation of his conduct and honorable acquittal added new lustre to his fame and confirmed the national sentiment that in his public character he was, indeed, "a man without fear and without reproach."

To his exertions in this department, we are indebted for many important institutions. Among others, the plan of redeeming the public debt, and of a national bank to facilitate the operations of

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government, were matured and adopted under his auspices; and so complete were his arrangements, that his successors, though men of undoubted talents, and one of them a political opponent, have found nothing susceptible of material improvement.

But the obligations of his country during this period were not confined to his merit as a financier.

The flame of insurrection was kindled in the western counties of Pennsylvania and raged with such violence that large detachments of military force were marched to the scene of the disturbance and the presence of the great Washington was judged necessary to quell the increasing spirit of revolt. He ordered the Secretary to quit the duties of his department and attend him on the expedition. His versatile powers were immediately and efficaciously applied to restore the authority of the laws. The principal burden of the important civil and military arrangements requisite for this purpose devolved upon his shoulders. It was owing to his humanity that the leaders of this rebellion escaped exemplary punishment; and the successful issue was, in public and unqualified terms, ascribed to him by those whose political relations would not have prompted them to pay the homage of unmerited praise.

He was highly instrumental in preserving our peace and neutrality, and saving us from the ruin which has befallen the republics of the Old World. Upon this topic I am desirous of avoiding every intimation which might prove offensive to individuals of any party. God forbid that the sacred sorrow, in which we all unite, should be disturbed by the mixture of any unkindly emotions! I would merely do justice to this honored shade, without arraigning the motives of those who disapproved and opposed his measures.

The dangers which menaced our infant Government at the commencement of the French Revolution are no longer a subject of controversy. The principles professed by the first leaders of that Revolution were so congenial to those of the American people; their pretenses of aiming merely at the reformation of abuses were so plausible; the spectacle of a great people struggling to recover their «long-lost liberties» was so imposing and august; while that of a combination of tyrants to conquer and subjugate was so revolting; the services received from one of the belligerent powers and the injuries inflicted by the other were so recent in our minds, that the sensibility of the nation

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was excited to the most exquisite pitch. To this disposition, so favorable to the wishes of France, every appeal was made, which intrigue, corruption, flattery, and threats could dictate. At this dangerous and dazzling crisis, there were but few men entirely exempt from the general delirium. Among that few was Hamilton. His penetrating eye discerned, and his prophetic voice foretold, the tendency and consequence of the first revolutionary movements. He was assured that every people which should espouse the cause of France would pass under her yoke, and that the people of France, like every nation which surrenders its reason to the mercy of demagogues, would be driven by the storms of anarchy upon the shores of despotism. All this he knew was conformable to the invariable law of nature and experience of mankind. From the reach of this desolation he was anxious to save his country, and in the pursuit of his purpose he breasted the assaults of calumny and prejudice. "The torrent roared, and he did buffet it." Appreciating the advantages of a neutral position, he co-operated with Washington, Adams, and the other patriots of that day, in the means best adapted to maintain it. The rights and duties of neutrality proclaimed by the President were explained and enforced by Hamilton in the character of Pacificus. The attempts to corrupt and intimidate were resisted. The British treaty was justified and defended as an honorable compact with our natural friends, and pregnant with advantages which have since been realized and acknowledged by its opponents.

By this pacific and vigorous policy, in the whole course of which the genius and activity of Hamilton were conspicuous, time and information were afforded to the American nation, and correct views were acquired of our situation and interests. We beheld the republics of Europe march in procession to the funeral of their own liberties, by the lurid light of the revolutionary torch. The tumult of the passions subsided, the wisdom of the administration was perceived, and America now remains a solitary monument in the desolated plains of liberty.

Having remained at the head of the Treasury several years, and filled its coffers; having developed the sources of an ample revenue, and tested the advantages of his own system by his own experience; and having expended his private fortune, he found it necessary to retire from public employment and to devote his attention to the claims of a large and dear family. What brighter

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instance of disinterested honor has ever been exhibited to an admiring world! That a man, upon whom devolved the task of originating a system of revenue for a nation; of devising the checks in his own department; of providing for the collection of sums, the amount of which was conjectural; that a man, who anticipated the effects of a funding system, yet a secret in his own bosom, and who was thus enabled to have secured a princely fortune, consistently with principles esteemed fair by the world; that such a man, by no means addicted to an expensive or extravagant style of living, should have retired from office destitute of means adequate to the wants of mediocrity and have resorted to professional labor for the means of decent support, are facts which must instruct and astonish those who, in countries habituated to corruption and venality, are more attentive to the gains than to the duties of official station. Yet Hamilton was that man. It was a fact, always known to his friends, and it is now evident from his testament, made under a deep presentiment of his approaching fate. Blush, then, ministers and warriors of imperial France, who have deluded your nation by pretensions to a disinterested regard for its liberties and rights. Disgorge the riches extorted from your fellow-citizens and the spoils amassed from confiscation and blood! Restore to impoverished nations the price paid by them for the privilege of slavery, and now appropriated to the refinements of luxury and corruption! Approach the tomb of Hamilton, and compare the insignificance of your gorgeous palaces with the awful majesty of this tenement of clay!

We again accompany our friend in the walks of private life, and in the assiduous pursuit of his profession, until the aggressions of France compelled the nation to assume the attitude of defense. He was now invited by the great and enlightened statesman, who had succeeded to the presidency, and at the express request of the commander in chief, to accept the second rank in the army. Though no man had manifested a greater desire to avoid war, yet it is freely confessed that when war appeared to be inevitable, his heart exulted in "the tented field," and he loved the life and occupation of a soldier. His early habits were formed amid the fascinations of the camp. And though the pacific policy of Adams once more rescued us from war, and shortened the existence of the army establishment, yet

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its duration was sufficient to secure to him the love and confidence of officers and men, to enable him to display the talents and qualities of a great general, and to justify the most favorable prognostics of his prowess in the field.

Once more this excellent man unloosed the helmet from his brow and returned to the duties of the forum. From this time he persisted in a firm resolution to decline all civil honors and promotion, and to live a private citizen, unless again summoned to the defense of his country. He became more than ever assiduous in his practice at the bar and intent upon his plans of domestic happiness, until a nice and mistaken estimate of the claims of honor impelled him to the fatal act which terminated his life.

While it is far from my intention to draw a veil over this last great error, or in the least measure to justify a practice which threatens in its progress to destroy the liberty of speech and of opinion, it is but justice to the deceased to state the circumstances which should palliate the resentment that may be excited in some good minds towards his memory. From the last sad memorial which we possess from his hand, and in which, if our tears permit, we may trace the sad presage of the impending catastrophe, it appears that his religious principles were at variance with the practice of dueling and that he could not reconcile his benevolent heart to shed the blood of an adversary in private combat, even in his own defense. It was, then, from public motives, that he committed this great mistake. It was for the benefit of his country that he erroneously conceived himself obliged to make the painful sacrifice of his principles, and to expose his life. The sober judgment of the man was confounded and misdirected by the jealous honor of the soldier; and he evidently adverted to the possibility of events that might render indispensable the esteem and confidence of soldiers, as well as of citizens.

But while religion mourns for this aberration of the judgment of a great man, she derives some consolation from his testimony in her favor. If she rejects the policy, she admits the repentance; and if the good example be not an atonement, it may be an antidote for the bad. Let us, then, in an age of infidelity, join, in imagination, the desolate group of wife and children and friends who surround the dying bed of the inquisitive, the lum-

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inous, the scientific Hamilton, and witness his attestation to the truth and comforts of our holy religion. Let us behold the lofty warrior bow his head before the cross of the meek and lowly Jesus; and he who had so lately graced the sumptuous tables and society of the luxurious and rich, now regardless of these meaner pleasures, and aspiring to be admitted to a sublime enjoyment with which no worldly joys can compare; to a devout and humble participation of the bread of life. The religious fervor of his last moments was not an impulse of decaying nature yielding to its fears, but the result of a firm conviction of the truths of the Gospel. I am well informed that in early life the evidences of the Christian religion had attracted his serious examination and obtained his deliberate assent to their truth, and that he daily, upon his knees, devoted a portion of time to a compliance with one of its most important injunctions; and that, however these edifying propensities might have yielded occasionally to the business and temptations of life, they always resumed their influence and would probably have prompted him to a public profession of his faith in his Redeemer.

Such was the untimely fate of Alexander Hamilton, whose character warrants the apprehension that "take him for all in all, we ne'er shall look upon his like again."

Nature, even in the partial distribution of her favors, generally limits the attainments of great men within distinct and particular spheres of eminence. But he was the darling of nature, and privileged beyond the rest of her favorites. His mind caught at a glance that perfect comprehension of a subject for which others are indebted to a patient labor and investigation. In whatever department he was called to act, he discovered an intuitive knowledge of its duties, which gave him an immediate ascendency over those who had made them the study of their lives; so that, after running through the circle of office, as a soldier, statesman, and financier, no question remained for which he had been qualified, but only in which he had evinced the most superlative merit. He did not dissemble his attachment to a military life, nor his consciousness of possessing talents for command; yet no man more strenuously advocated the rights of the civil over the military power, nor more cheerfully abdicated command and returned to the rank of the citizen, when his country could dispense with the necessity of an army.

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In his private profession, at a bar abounding with men of learning and experience, he was without a rival. He arranged, with the happiest facility, the materials collected in the vast storehouse of his memory, surveyed his subject under all its aspects, and enforced his arguments with such powers of reasoning, that nothing was wanting to produce conviction, and generally to insure success. His eloquence combined the nervousness and copious elegance of the Greek and Roman schools, and gave him the choice of his clients and his business. These wonderful powers were accompanied by a natural politeness and winning condescension, which forestalled the envy of his brethren. Their hearts were gained before their pride was alarmed, and they united in their approbation of a pre-eminence which reflected honor on their fraternity.

From such talents, adorned by incorruptible honesty and boundless generosity, an immense personal influence over his political and private friends was inseparable; and by those who did not know him, and who saw the use to which ambition might apply it, he was sometimes suspected of views unpropitious to the nature of our Government. The charge was inconsistent with the exertions he had made to render that Government, in its present form, worthy of the attachment and support of the people, and his voluntary relinquishment of the means of ambition, the purse strings of the nation. He was, indeed, ambitious, but not of power; he was ambitious only to convince the world of the spotless integrity of his administration and character. This was the key to the finest sensibilities of the heart. He shrank from the imputation of misconduct in public life; and if his judgment ever misled him, it was only when warped by an excessive eagerness to vindicate himself at the expense of his discretion. To calumny, in every other shape, he opposed the defense of dignified silence and contempt.

Had such a character been exempt from foibles and frailties, it would not have been human. Yet so small was the catalogue of these, that they would have escaped observation, but for the unparalleled frankness of his nature, which prompted him to confess them to the world. He did not consider greatness as an authority for habitual vice; and he repented with such contrition of casual error, that none remained offended but those who never had a right to complain. The virtues of his private and domestic

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character comprised whatever conciliates affection and begets respect. To envy he was a stranger, and of merit and talents the unaffected eulogist and admirer. The charms of his conversation, the brilliance of his wit, his regard to decorum, his ineffable good humor, which led him down from the highest range of intellect to the level of colloquial pleasantry, will never be forgotten, perhaps never equaled.

To observe that such a man was dear to his family would be superfluous. To describe how dear, impossible. Of this we might obtain some adequate conception, could we look into the retreat which he had chosen for the solace of his future years; which, enlivened by his presence, was so lately the mansion of cheerfulness and content; but now, alas! of lamentation and woe!—

> "For him no more the blazing hearth shall burn,
> Or tender consort wait with anxious care;
> No children run to lisp their sire's return,
> Or climb his knees, the envied kiss to share."

With his eye upon the eternal world, this dying hero had been careful to prepare a testament, almost for the sole purpose of bequeathing to his orphans the rich legacy of his principles; and having exhibited in his last hours to this little band the manner in which a Christian should die, he drops, in his flight to heaven, a summary of the principles by which a man of honor should live.

The universal sorrow manifested in every part of the Union upon the melancholy exit of this great man is an unequivocal testimonial of the public opinion of his worth. The place of his residence is overspread with a gloom which bespeaks the presence of a public calamity, and the prejudices of party are absorbed in the overflowing tide of national grief.

It is, indeed, a subject of consolation, that diversity of political opinions has not yet extinguished the sentiment of public gratitude. There is yet a hope that events like these, which bring home to our bosoms the sensation of a common loss, may yet remind us of our common interest, and of the times, when, with one accord, we joined in the homage of respect to our living as well as to our deceased worthies.

Should those days once more return, when the people of America, united as they once were united, shall make merit the

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measure of their approbation and confidence, we may hope for a constant succession of patriots and heroes. But should our country be rent by factions, and the merit of the man be estimated by the zeal of the partisan, irreparable will be the loss of those few men, who, having once been esteemed by all, might again have acquired the confidence of all, and saved their country, in an hour of peril, by their talents and virtues: —

> "So stream the sorrows that embalm the brave;
> The tears which virtue sheds on glory's grave."

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JAMES OTIS

(1725–1783)

JAMES OTIS was one of the most celebrated orators of New England during the Revolutionary period, though, like Patrick Henry, he has narrowly escaped having nothing but a great reputation to represent his eloquence. The exordium of his most celebrated speech — that against "Writs of Assistance" in 1761 — is reported in direct narration, but the rest survives only in a synopsis. The exordium, however, though only too brief, shows that Otis had a mind of the highest analytical power and that he used it with the utmost fearlessness. He was a believer in political equality, "regardless of race, color, or previous condition of servitude," and in the immediate abolition of slavery. "Not a Quaker in Philadelphia, or Mr. Jefferson in Virginia, ever asserted the rights of negroes in stronger terms," writes John Adams. "Young as I was, ignorant as I was, I shuddered at the doctrine he taught; and I have all my life shuddered and still shudder at the consequence that may be drawn from such premises." Otis did not stop to shudder, however. He believed that "all men are created free" and "Mr. Jefferson in Virginia" was not less likely to stop to reckon the consequences of declaring it. Otis was born at Barnstable, Massachusetts, February 5th, 1725. He was a Member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives at the time of the Stamp Act troubles, and was a delegate to the Stamp Act Congress of 1765. In 1764 he wrote the 'Rights of the British Colonies Asserted,' and he was the author of the 'Vindication of the Conduct of the House of Representatives' and of other noted political papers. He died at Andover, Massachusetts, May 23d, 1783.

FOR INDIVIDUAL SOVEREIGNTY AND AGAINST "WRITS OF ASSISTANCE"

(Exordium of the Speech Delivered before the Superior Court in Boston, February 1761)

[In 1760, George III., who had just come to the throne, issued orders authorizing search and seizure in the colonies wherever it was presumed that taxable goods were being concealed from the royal authorities. The royal

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governors proceeded under «Writs of Assistance» in carrying out this policy, and when the first of these writs was applied for at Salem, Massachusetts, James Otis was called into the case to represent the merchants of Boston. Only the exordium of this speech as here given is reported in full:—]

MAY it please your honors, I was desired by one of the court to look into the books, and consider the question now before them concerning Writs of Assistance. I have, accordingly, considered it, and now appear not only in obedience to your order, but likewise in behalf of the inhabitants of this town, who have presented another petition, and out of regard to the liberties of the subject. And I take this opportunity to declare that, whether under a fee or not (for in such a cause as this I despise a fee), I will to my dying day oppose with all the powers and faculties God has given me all such instruments of slavery on the one hand, and villainy on the other, as this writ of assistance is.

It appears to me the worst instrument of arbitrary power, the most destructive of English liberty and the fundamental principles of law, that ever was found in an English law book. I must, therefore, beg your honors' patience and attention to the whole range of an argument, that may, perhaps, appear uncommon in many things, as well as to points of learning that are more remote and unusual: that the whole tendency of my design may the more easily be perceived, the conclusions better descend, and the force of them be better felt. I shall not think much of my pains in this cause, as I engaged in it from principle. I was solicited to argue this cause as Advocate General; and because I would not, I have been charged with desertion from my office. To this charge I can give a very sufficient answer. I renounced that office, and I argue this cause from the same principle; and I argue it with the greater pleasure, as it is in favor of British liberty, at a time when we hear the greatest monarch upon earth declaring from his throne that he glories in the name of Briton, and that the privileges of his people are dearer to him than the most valuable prerogatives of his crown; and as it is in opposition to a kind of power, the exercise of which, in former periods of history, cost one king of England his head and another his throne. I have taken more pains in this cause than I ever will take again, although my engaging in this and another popular cause has raised much resentment. But I think I can sincerely declare that I cheerfully submit myself to

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every odious name for conscience' sake; and from my soul I despise all those whose guilt, malice, or folly has made them my foes. Let the consequences be what they will, I am determined to proceed. The only principles of public conduct that are worthy of a gentleman or a man are to sacrifice estate, ease, health, and applause, and even life, to the sacred calls of his country.

These manly sentiments, in private life, make the good citizen; in public life, the patriot and the hero. I do not say that when brought to the test I shall be invincible. I pray God I may never be brought to the melancholy trial; but if ever I should, it will be then known how far I can reduce to practice principles which I know to be founded in truth. In the meantime I will proceed to the subject of this writ.

Your honors will find in the old books concerning the office of a justice of the peace precedents of general warrants to search suspected houses. But in more modern books, you will find only special warrants to search such and such houses, specially named, in which the complainant has before sworn that he suspects his goods are concealed; and will find it adjudged that special warrants only are legal. In the same manner I rely on it, that the writ prayed for in this petition, being general, is illegal. It is a power that places the liberty of every man in the hands of every petty officer. I say I admit that special Writs of Assistance, to search special places, may be granted to certain persons on oath; but I deny that the writ now prayed for can be granted, for I beg leave to make some observations on the writ itself, before I proceed to other acts of Parliament. In the first place, the writ is universal, being directed "to all and singular justices, sheriffs, constables, and all other officers and subjects"; so that, in short, it is directed to every subject in the king's dominions. Every one with this writ may be a tyrant; if this commission be legal, a tyrant in a legal manner, also, may control, imprison, or murder any one within the realm. In the next place, it is perpetual; there is no return. A man is accountable to no person for his doings. Every man may reign secure in his petty tyranny, and spread terror and desolation around him, until the trump of the archangel shall excite different emotions in his soul. In the third place, a person with this writ, in the daytime, may enter all houses, shops, etc., at will, and command all to assist him. Fourthly, by this writ, not only deputies, etc., but even their menial servants, are allowed to lord it over us. What is this but

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to have the curse of Canaan with a witness on us; to be the servant of servants, the most despicable of God's creation? Now one of the most essential branches of English liberty is the freedom of one's house. A man's house is his castle; and whilst he is quiet, he is as well guarded as a prince in his castle. This writ, if it should be declared legal, would totally annihilate this privilege. Customhouse officers may enter our houses when they please; we are commanded to permit their entry. Their menial servants may enter, may break locks, bars, and everything in their way; and whether they break through malice or revenge, no man, no court can inquire. Bare suspicion without oath is sufficient. This wanton exercise of this power is not a chimerical suggestion of a heated brain. I will mention some facts. Mr. Pew had one of these writs, and when Mr. Ware succeeded him, he indorsed this writ over to Mr. Ware; so that these writs are negotiable from one officer to another; and so your honors have no opportunity of judging the persons to whom this vast power is delegated. Another instance is this: Mr. Justice Walley had called this same Mr. Ware before him, by a constable, to answer for a breach of the Sabbath Day acts, or that of profane swearing. As soon as he had finished, Mr. Ware asked him if he had done. He replied: "Yes." "Well then," said Mr. Ware, "I will show you a little of my power. I command you to permit me to search your house for uncustomed goods"; and went on to search the house from the garret to the cellar, and then served the constable in the same manner! But to show another absurdity in this writ, if it should be established, I insist upon it that every person, by the 14th Charles II., has this power as well as the customhouse officers. The words are: "It shall be lawful for any person or persons authorized," etc. What a scene does this open! Every man prompted by revenge, ill-humor, or wantonness, to inspect the inside of his neighbor's house, may get a Writ of Assistance. Others will ask it from self-defense; one arbitrary exertion will provoke another, until society be involved in tumult and in blood. . . .

[John Adams says that after this exordium Otis continued under four several headings which he gives thus,—taking the exordium as the first:—]

2. "He asserted that every man, merely natural, was an independent sovereign, subject to no law but the law written on his heart and revealed to him by his Maker, in the constitution of his nature,

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and the inspiration of his understanding and his conscience. His right to his life, his liberty, no created being could rightfully contest. Nor was his right to his property less incontestable. The club that he had snapped from a tree, for a staff or for defense, was his own. His bow and arrow were his own; if by a pebble he had killed a partridge or a squirrel, it was his own. No creature, man or beast, had a right to take it from him. If he had taken an eel, or a smelt, or a sculpin, it was his property. In short, he sported upon this topic with so much wit and humor, and at the same time with so much indisputable truth and reason, that he was not less entertaining than instructive. He asserted that these rights were inherent and inalienable; that they never could be surrendered or alienated, but by idiots or madmen, and all the acts of idiots and lunatics were void, and not obligatory, by all the laws of God and man. Nor were the poor negroes forgotten. Not a Quaker in Philadelphia, or Mr. Jefferson in Virginia, ever asserted the rights of negroes in stronger terms. Young as I was, and ignorant as I was, I shuddered at the doctrine he taught; and I have all my life shuddered, and still shudder, at the consequences that may be drawn from such premises. Shall we say that the rights of masters and servants clash, and can be decided only by force? I adore the idea of gradual abolitions! but who shall decide how fast or how slowly these abolitions shall be made?

3. "From individual independence he proceeded to association. If it was inconsistent with the dignity of human nature to say that men were gregarious animals, like wild geese, it surely could offend no delicacy to say they were social animals by nature; that there were natural sympathies, and, above all, the sweet attraction of the sexes, which must soon draw them together in little groups, and by degrees in larger congregations, for mutual assistance and defense. And this must have happened before any formal covenant, by express words or signs, was concluded. When general councils and deliberations commenced, the objects could be no other than the mutual defense and security of every individual for his life, his liberty, and his property. To suppose them to have surrendered these in any other way than by equal rules and general consent was to suppose them idiots or madmen, whose acts were never binding. To suppose them surprised by fraud, or compelled by force into any other compact, such fraud and such force could confer no obligation. Every man had a right to trample it under foot whenever he pleased. In short, he asserted these rights to be derived only from nature and the Author of Nature; that they were inherent, inalienable, and indefeasible by any laws, pacts, contracts, covenants, or stipulations which man could devise.

4. "These principles and these rights were wrought into the English Constitution as fundamental laws. And under this head he went

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back to the old Saxon laws, and to Magna Charta, and the fifty confirmations of it in Parliament, and the executions ordained against the violators of it, and the national vengeance which had been taken on them from time to time, down to the Jameses and Charleses; and to the position of rights and the Bill of Rights and the Revolution. He asserted that the security of these rights to life, liberty, and property had been the object of all those struggles against arbitrary power, temporal and spiritual, civil and political, military and ecclesiastical, in every age. He asserted that our ancestors, as British subjects, and we, their descendants, as British subjects, were entitled to all those rights, by the British Constitution, as well as by the law of nature and our provincial character, as much as any inhabitant of London or Bristol, or any part of England; and were not to be cheated out of them by any phantom of 'virtual representation,' or any other fiction of law or politics, or any monkish trick of deceit and hypocrisy.

5. "He then examined the acts of trade, one by one, and demonstrated that if they were considered as revenue laws, they destroyed all our security of property, liberty, and life, every right of nature, and the English Constitution, and the charter of the province. Here he considered the distinction between 'external and internal taxes,' at that time a popular and commonplace distinction. But he asserted that there was no such distinction in theory, or upon any principle but 'necessity.' The necessity that the commerce of the empire should be under one direction was obvious. The Americans had been so sensible of this necessity, that they had connived at the distinction between external and internal taxes, and had submitted to the acts of trade as regulations of commerce, but never as taxations, or revenue laws. Nor had the British Government till now ever dared to attempt to enforce them as taxations or revenue laws. They had lain dormant in that character for a century almost. The Navigation Act he allowed to be binding upon us, because we had consented to it by our own legislature. Here he gave a history of the navigation act of the 1st of Charles II., a plagiarism from Oliver Cromwell. This act had lain dormant for fifteen years. In 1675, after repeated letters and orders from the king, Governor Leverett very candidly informs his Majesty that the law had not been executed, because it was thought unconstitutional; Parliament not having authority over us."

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LORD PALMERSTON

(HENRY JOHN TEMPLE, VISCOUNT PALMERSTON)

(1784–1865)

HENRY JOHN TEMPLE, VISCOUNT PALMERSTON, whose name is connected with some of the most important events in modern English politics, was born near Romsey, in Hants, England, October 20th, 1784. At the age of eighteen the death of his father made him Viscount Palmerston and opened to him the official career for which he was fitted by his versatility and his talents. He entered Parliament as a representative of a pocket borough, and was at once made one of the junior lords of the admiralty. When only twenty-five years of age his admirers offered to make him Chancellor of the Exchequer, but he declined the place on the ground that he knew nothing of finance. From 1809 to 1828 he served as Secretary of War, and it is said that he was "entirely devoted to the Tory party of that day." Later, he became eminent as a Whig, though it is said he never really changed his opinion, being as always a "statesman of the old English aristocratic type, liberal in his sentiments, favorable to the cause of justice and the march of progress, but entirely opposed to the claims of democratic government." He was twice Prime Minister of England, and he is remarkable for such apparent inconsistencies as that between his sympathy for the Revolutionists of 1848, especially for the Italian Revolutionists, and his approval of Louis Napoleon's *coup d'état* in 1851. He died October 18th, 1865.

ON THE DEATH OF COBDEN

(Delivered in the House of Commons on April 3d, 1868, the Day Succeeding that of Cobden's Death)

Mr. Speaker: —

IT IS impossible for this House to have that order put without calling to its mind the great loss which this House and the country have sustained by the event which took place yesterday morning. Sir, Mr. Cobden, whose loss we deplore, occupied a prominent position both as a member of this House and

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as a member of the British nation. I do not mean, in the few words I have to say, to disguise or to avoid stating that there were many matters upon which a great number of people differed from Mr. Cobden, and I among the rest; but those who differed from him the most never could doubt the honesty of his purpose or the sincerity of his convictions. They felt that his object was the good of his country, however they might differ on particular questions from him as to the means by which that end was to be accomplished. But we all agree in burying in oblivion every point of difference, and think only of the great and important services he rendered to our common country. Sir, it is many years ago since Adam Smith elaborately and conclusively, as far as argument could go, advocated as the fundamental principles of the wealth of nations freedom of industry and unrestricted exchange of the objects and results of industry. These doctrines were inculcated by learned men, by Dugald Stewart and others, and were also taken up in process of time by leading statesmen, such as Mr. Huskisson and those who agreed with him; but the barriers which long-established prejudice, honest and conscientious prejudice, had raised against the practical application of those doctrines for a long series of years prevented their coming into use as instruments of progress in the country. To Mr. Cobden it was reserved, by his untiring industry, his indefatigable personal activity, the indomitable energy of his mind, and I will say that forcible and Demosthenic eloquence with which he treated all the subjects which he took in hand — it was reserved to Mr. Cobden, aided, no doubt, by a great phalanx of worthy associates, — by my right honorable friend, the president of the Poor Law Board, and by Sir R. Peel, whose memory will ever be associated with the principles Mr. Cobden so ably advocated — it was reserved, I say, to Mr. Cobden, by exertions which never were surpassed, to carry into practical application those abstract principles with the truth of which he was so deeply impressed, and which at last gained the acceptance of all reasonable men in the country. He rendered an inestimable and enduring benefit to our country by the result of those exertions. But great as were Mr. Cobden's talents, great as was his industry, and eminent as was his success, the disinterestedness of his mind more than equaled all these. He was a man of great ambition, but his ambition was to be useful to his country; and that ambition was amply gratified. When the present Government was formed, I was

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authorized graciously by her Majesty to offer to Mr. Cobden a seat in the Cabinet. Mr. Cobden declined, and frankly told me that he thought he and I differed a good deal upon many important principles of political action, and therefore he could not comfortably, either for me or for himself, join the administration of which I was the head. I think he was wrong; but this I will say of Mr. Cobden, that no man, however strongly he may have differed from him upon general political principles, or the application of those principles, could come into contact with him without carrying away the strongest personal esteem and regard for the man with whom he had the misfortune not entirely to agree. Well, sir, the two great achievements of Mr. Cobden were, in the first place, the abrogation of those laws which regulated the importation of corn and the great development which that gave to the industry of the country, and the commercial arrangements which he negotiated with France, which paved the way and tended greatly to extend the intercourse between the two countries. When that achievement was accomplished, it was my lot to offer to Mr. Cobden, not office, for that I knew he would not take, but to offer him those honors which the Crown can bestow — a baronetcy and the rank of a privy councilor, honorable distinctions which it would have gratified the Crown to bestow for important services rendered to the country, and which I think it would not have been at all derogatory for him to accept. But the same disinterested spirit which actuated all his conduct, whether in private or in public, led him to decline even the acknowledgments which would properly have been made for the services he had rendered. Well, sir, I can only say that we have sustained a loss which every man in the country will feel. We have lost a man who may be said to have been peculiarly emblematical of the Constitution under which we have the happiness to live, because he rose to great eminence in this House, and acquired an ascendency in the public mind, not by virtue of any family connections, but solely and entirely by means of the power and vigor of his mind, that power and vigor being applied to purposes eminently advantageous to the country. Sir, Mr. Cobden's name will be forever engraved on the most interesting pages of the history of this country; and I am sure there is not one in this House who does not feel the deepest regret that we have lost one of its proudest ornaments, and that the country has been deprived of one of her most useful servants.

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AGAINST WAR ON IRELAND

(From a Speech Delivered in the House of Commons in 1829)

THEN come we to the last remedy,—civil war. Some gentlemen say that, sooner or later, we must fight for it, and the sword must decide. They tell us that, if blood were but shed in Ireland, Catholic emancipation might be avoided. Sir, when honorable members shall be a little deeper read in the history of Ireland, they will find that in Ireland blood has been shed,—that in Ireland leaders have been seized, trials have been had, and punishments have been inflicted. They will find, indeed, almost every page of the history of Ireland darkened by bloodshed, by seizures, by trials, and by punishments. But what has been the effect of these measures? They have, indeed, been successful in quelling the disturbances of the moment; but they never have gone to their cause, and have only fixed deeper the poisoned barb that rankles in the heart of Ireland. Can one believe one's ears when one hears respectable men talk so lightly —nay, almost so wishfully—of civil war? Do they reflect what a countless multitude of ills those three short syllables contain? It is well, indeed, for the gentlemen of England, who live secure under the protecting shadow of the law, whose slumbers have never been broken by the clashing of angry swords, whose harvests have never been trodden down by the conflict of hostile feet,—it is well for them to talk of civil war, as if it were some holiday pastime, or some sport of children:—

"They jest at scars who never felt a wound."

But, that gentlemen from unfortunate and ill-starred Ireland, who have seen with their own eyes, and heard with their own ears, the miseries which civil war produces,—who have known, by their own experience, the barbarism, aye, the barbarity, which it engenders,—that such persons should look upon civil war as anything short of the last and greatest of national calamities,—is to me a matter of the deepest and most unmixed astonishment. I will grant, if you will, that the success of such a war with Ireland would be as signal and complete as would be its injustice; I will grant, if you will, that resistance would soon be extinguished with the lives of those who resisted; I will grant, if you

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will, that the crimsoned banner of England would soon wave in undisputed supremacy over the smoking ashes of their towns and the blood-stained solitude of their fields. But I tell you that England herself never would permit the achievement of such a conquest; England would reject with disgust laurels that were dyed in fraternal blood; England would recoil with loathing and abhorrence from the bare contemplation of so devilish a triumph!

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THEODORE PARKER

(1810–1860)

DANIEL WEBSTER, Rufus Choate, and other great New Englanders who believed with them, looked upon the Federal Constitution as a series of compromises among conflicting interests and argued that under such a Constitution national politics at every crisis ought to be governed by the same spirit of concession which made the Constitution possible. Webster and Clay were entirely consistent with their own habitual methods in supporting the Compromise of 1850, but the time had passed when the spirit which controlled them was strong enough to control the Union. At the North and at the South the new generation was already governed by the impulse which a little later expressed itself in the lines:—

> «Not another word — try it with the sword!
> Try it with the blood of your bravest and your best.»

It was in this spirit that in 1852 Theodore Parker made his attack on Webster at the Melodeon in Boston. It is difficult to characterize it further than by saying that it is a marvel of eloquent and passionate expression, evidently inspired by a deep underlying reverence for Webster even when it seems most to condemn him. Its value as a historical document is very great. The text here used is that of a contemporaneous verbatim report in the Boston Commonwealth, printed, no doubt, from Mr. Parker's own manuscript.

He was born at Lexington, Massachusetts, August 24th, 1810, and, after graduating at the Cambridge Divinity School, began his professional life in 1837 as a Unitarian clergyman. In 1845, and for a number of years thereafter, he was the leader of an independent association of religious thinkers in Boston, and was very active in forcing issues for the immediate abolition of slavery. He died in Italy, May 10th, 1860. His complete works, including his sermons, lectures, and addresses have been published in ten volumes.

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ON DANIEL WEBSTER AFTER THE COMPROMISE OF 1850

(From an Address at the Melodeon in Boston, October 31st, 1852)

DO MEN mourn for him, the great man eloquent? I put on sackcloth long ago. I mourned for him when he wrote the Creole letter which surprised Ashburton, Briton that he was. I mourned when he spoke the speech of the seventh of March. I mourned when the Fugitive Slave Bill passed Congress, and the same cannon that have fired "minute guns" for him fired also one hundred rounds of joy for the forging of a new fetter for the fugitive's foot. I mourned for him when the kidnapers first came to Boston — hated then — now respectable men, the companions of princes, enlarging their testimony in the court. I mourned when my own parishioners fled from the "stripes" of New England to the "stars" of Old England. I mourned when Ellen Craft fled to my house for shelter and for succor; and for the first time in all my life, I armed this hand. I mourned when the courthouse was hung in chains; when Thomas Sims, from his dungeon, sent out his petition for prayers and the churches did not dare to pray. I mourned when I married William and Ellen Craft, and gave them a Bible for their soul, and a sword to keep that soul living, and in a living frame. I mourned when the poor outcast in yonder dungeon sent for me to visit him, and, when I took him by the hand that Daniel Webster was chaining in that house. I mourned for Webster when we prayed our prayer and sung our psalm on Long Wharf in the morning's gray. I mourned then; I shall not cease to mourn. The flags will be removed from the streets, the cannon will sound their other notes of joy; but for me I shall go mourning all my days. I shall refuse to be comforted, and at last I shall lay down my gray hairs with weeping and with sorrow in the grave. Oh, Webster! Webster! would God that I had died for thee!

He was a great man, a man of the largest mold, a great body, and a great brain; he seemed made to last a hundred years. Since Socrates, there has seldom been a head so massive, so huge — seldom such a face since the stormy features of Michael Angelo: —

> "The hand that rounded Peter's dome,
> And groined the aisles of Christian Rome" —

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he who sculptured Day and Night into such beautiful forms,— he looked them in his face before he chiseled them into stone. Dupuytren and Cuvier are said to be the only men in our day that have had a brain so vast. Since Charlemagne I think there has not been such a grand figure in all Christendom. A large man, decorous in dress, dignified in deportment, he walked as if he felt himself a king. Men from the country, who knew him not, stared at him as he passed through our streets. The coal-heavers and porters of London looked on him as one of the great forces of the globe; they recognized a native king. In the Senate of the United States he looked an emperor in that council. Even the majestic Calhoun seemed common compared with him. Clay looked vulgar, and Van Buren but a fox. What a mouth he had! It was a lion's mouth. Yet there was a sweet grandeur in his smile, and a woman's sweetness when he would. What a brow it was! What eyes! like charcoal fire in the bottom of a deep, dark well. His face was rugged with volcanic fires, great passions, and great thoughts:—

> «The front of Jove himself;
> And eyes like Mars, to threaten and command.»

Divide the faculties, not bodily, into intellectual, moral, affectional, and religious; and try him on that scale. His late life shows that he had little religion — somewhat of its lower forms — conventional devoutness, formality of prayer, «the ordinances of religion»; but he had not a great man's all-conquering look to God. It is easy to be «devout.» The Pharisee was more so than the Publican. It is hard to be moral. «Devoutness» took the Priest and the Levite to the Temple; morality the Samaritan to the man fallen among thieves. Men tell us he was religious, and in proof declare that he read the Bible; thought Job a great epic poem; quoted Habbakuk from memory, and knew hymns by heart; and latterly agreed with a New Hampshire divine in all the doctrines of a Christian life.

Of the affections, he was well provided by nature — though they were little cultivated — very attractable to a few. Those who knew him, loved him tenderly; and if he hated like a giant, he also loved like a king. Of unimpassioned and unrelated love, there are two chief forms: friendship and philanthropy. Friendship he surely had; all along the shore men loved him. Men in

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Boston loved him; even Washington held loving hearts that worshiped him.

Of philanthropy, I cannot claim much for him; I find it not. Of conscience, it seemed to me he had little; in his later life, exceeding little; his moral sense seemed long besotted; almost, though not wholly, gone. Hence, though he was often generous, he was not just. Free to give as to grasp, he was charitable by instinct, not disinterested on principle.

His strength lay not in the religious, nor in the affectional, nor in the moral part of man. His intellect was immense. His power of comprehension was vast. He methodized swiftly. But if you look at the forms of intellectual action, you may distribute them into three great modes of force: the understanding, the imagination, and the reason — the understanding, dealing with details and methods; imagination, with beauty, with power to create; reason, with first principles and universal laws.

We must deny to Mr. Webster the great reason. He does not belong to the great men of that department,— the Socrates, Aristotle, Plato, Leibnitz, Newton, Descartes, and the other mighties. He seldom grasps a universal law. His measures of expediency for to-day are seldom bottomed on universal principles of right which last forever.

I cannot assign to him a large imagination. He was not creative of new forms of thought or of beauty; so he lacks the poetic charm which gladdens the loftiest eloquence. But his understanding was exceedingly great. He acquired readily and retained well; arranged with ease and skill; and fluently reproduced. As a scholar he passed for learned in the Senate, where scholars are few; for a universal man with editors of political and commercial prints But his learning was narrow in its range, and not very nice in its accuracy. His reach in history and literature was very small for a great man seventy years of age, always associating with able men. To science he seems to have paid scarcely any attention at all. It is a short radius that measures the arc of his historic realm. A few Latin authors whom he loved to quote make up his meagre classic store. He was not a scholar, and it is idle to claim great scholarship for him.

As a statesman his lack of what I call the highest reason and imagination continually appears. To the national stock he added no new idea, created out of new thought; no great maxim, created out of human history and old thought. The great ideas of the time were not born in his bosom. He organized nothing.

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There were great ideas of practical value seeking lodgment in the body; he aided them not. . . .

What a sad life was his! At Portsmouth his house burned down, all uninsured. His wife died,—a loving woman, beautiful and tenderly beloved! Of several children, all save one have gone before him to the tomb. Sad man; he lived to build his children's monument! Do you remember the melancholy spectacle in the street when Major Webster, a victim of the Mexican War, was by his father laid down in yonder tomb,—a daughter, too, but recently laid low! How poor seemed then the ghastly pageant in the street,—empty and hollow as the muffled drum. For years he has seemed to me like one of the tragic heroes of the Grecian tale, pursued by fate, and latterly, the saddest sight in all this Western World,—widowed of so much he loved, and grasping at what was not only vanity, but the saddest vexation of the heart. I have long mourned for him as for no living or departed man. He blasted us with scornful lightning. Him, if I could, I would not blast, but only bless continually and evermore.

You remember the last time he spoke in Boston—the procession, last summer. You remember it well. What a sad and careworn countenance was that of the old man, welcomed with their mockery of applause! You remember when the orator, wise-headed and friendly-hearted, came to thank him for his services, he said not a word of saving the Union; of the compromise measures, not a word; but for his own great services he thanked him.

And when Webster replied, he said: "Here in Boston I am not disowned—at least here I am not disowned." No, Daniel Webster! you were not disowned in Boston. So long as I have a tongue to teach, a heart to feel, you shall never be disowned. It was by our sin, by Boston's sin, that the great man fell! I pity his victims; you pity them too. But I pity him more; oh, far more! Pity the oppressed, will you? Will you not pity the oppressor in his sin?

Look there! See that face, so manly strong, so maiden meek! Hear that voice: "Neither do I condemn thee. Go, and sin no more." Listen to the last words of the crucified: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

The last time he was in Faneuil Hall—it was last June—the sick old man—it was Faneuil Hall open; once it had been shut—you remember the feeble look and the sad face. I felt then

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that it was his last time, and forbore to look upon that saddened countenance. The last time he was in the Senate, it was to hear his successor speak. He stayed an hour, and heard Charles Sumner demonstrate that the Fugitive Slave Bill was not good religion, nor good morality, nor good constitution, nor good law.

He came home to Boston and went down to Marshfield to die. An old man, broken with the storms of state, went home — to die! To him, to die was gain; life was the only loss. His friends were about him; his dear ones — his wife, his son (the last of six children he had loved). Name by name he bade them all farewell, and all his friends, man by man. Two colored servants of his were there — men that he had bought out of slavery and had blessed with freedom and life. They watched over the bedside of the dying man. The kindly doctor thought to sweeten the bitterness of death with medicated skill, and when that failed, he gave the great man a little manna that fell down from heaven three thousand years ago, and the shepherd David gathered it up and kept it in a psalm: —

"The Lord is my shepherd. Though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil. Thy rod and thy staff they comfort me."

And the great man faltered out his last words: "That is what I want — thy rod, thy rod; thy staff, thy staff." That great heart had never renounced God. Oh, no! it had scoffed at his "higher law," but in the heart of hearts there was religion still!

Just four years after his great speech, on the twenty-fourth of October, the mortal Daniel Webster went down to the dust, and the soul to the motherly bosom of God! Men mourn for him; he heeds it not. He needs not pity. The great man has gone where the servant is free from his master; where the weary are at rest; where the wicked cease from troubling.

"No farther seek his merits to disclose,
Or draw his frailties from their dread abode;
There they alike in trembling hope repose,
The bosom of his Father and his God!"

Massachusetts has lost her great adopted son. Has lost! Oh, no! "I still live" is truer than the sick man knew.

"He lives and spreads aloft by those pure eyes
And perfect virtues of all-judging God."

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His memory will long live with us, still dear to many a loving heart. What honor shall we pay? Let the State go out mindful of his noblest services, yet tearful for his fate, sad that he would fain have filled him with the husks the swine do eat, and no man gave to him. Sad and tearful let her remember the force of circumstance and dark temptation's secret power. Let her remember that while we know what he yielded to, and what his sin, God knows what also he resisted, and he alone knows who the sinner is. The dear old mother of us all! Oh, let her warn her children to fling away ambition, and let her charge them, every one, that there is a God who must, indeed, be worshiped, and a higher law of God which must be kept, though gold and Union fail. Then let her say to them: "Ye have dwelt long enough in this mountain; turn ye and take your journey into the land of Freedom, which the Lord your God giveth you!" Then let her lift her eyes to heaven, and pray:—

"Sweet mercy! To the gates of heaven
This statesman lead, his sins forgiven,
The rueful conflict, the heart riven
With vain endeavor;
And memory of earth's bitter leaven
Effaced forever!

"But why to him confine the prayer,
While kindred thoughts and yearnings bear
On the frail heart, the purest share
With all that live?
The best of what we do and are—
Great God, forgive!"

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CHARLES STEWART PARNELL

(1846–1891)

CHARLES STEWART PARNELL ranks with O'Connell as an agitator and leader, and he was even superior to O'Connell as an organizer. His influence in the politics of his own country and of England was so great that from the time he succeeded to the leadership of the Home Rule Party in 1880, until November 1890, when he was deposed, he virtually dictated the governing issues of English politics and greatly influenced those of America. Expressing himself always with readiness and exactness, he has, as an orator, little of the poetry of expression which characterizes the Irish school. His speeches in Parliament are so restrained and careful that they exaggerate his Attic severity of expression. Without doubt his best, because his freest speeches, were those made in the United States during his visit in 1880. He was born at Avondale, County Wicklow, Ireland, in 1846, and educated at Cambridge. Entering the English Parliament in 1875, he became the first President of the Irish Land League in 1879, and visited the United States as a means of furthering the interests of the Home Rule agitation. He was imprisoned under the Coercion Act of 1881–82, and as nothing more was needed to give him the complete confidence of the Irish people, he was able to force the issues which in 1886 resulted in his alliance with Gladstone and the Gladstone Home Rule Bill, which, if it did not realize the expectations of its authors in one way, had in others a far-reaching influence in compelling concessions. Parnell died at Brighton, October 6th, 1891.

HIS FIRST SPEECH IN AMERICA

(Delivered in New York, January 2d, 1880, in Reply to an Address of Welcome on His Landing)

I REGRET that my power of language is not sufficient to convey to you my appreciation of the kindness and honor that you have done me in meeting me this morning. I feel indebted to you, individually and collectively. It has always been a great pleasure to me to come to the United States of America. I could

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have wished that the circumstances attending our native land were of a more happy and prosperous character, but we must hope and believe that the time is approaching when we may be able to speak of Ireland as other men speak of their own country, and that we may be able to speak of her as really and truly among the nations of the earth. As you have very well expressed it in your addresses, our task is of a double character. We have to aim against the system which causes discontent and suffering in our country, and we have to endeavor to break down that system. And with God's help we are determined to break it down! We have also to see that the victims of the system are not suffered to perish. In the meanwhile we are to take care that the unity and strength of our people are not broken, and that now, when the opportunity has really come for the settlement of one of the leading questions in Ireland, the opportunity may not be lost. The physical suffering and misery and starvation of large portions of our population in Ireland has not been exaggerated. We have been calling upon the Government for eight months to relieve that distress, but it has only been within the last few days that the English Government has agreed to admit there is any distress. This was brought to their notice by a letter from the Duchess of Marlborough, wife of the Lord-Lieutenant, which stated there was going to be a famine and dire distress during the coming winter. It is what we have warned the Government, and our people at home and abroad, for some time, and only now that it is too well spread for almost any effectual remedy, do those rulers in England appear to understand at all their responsibility. We who have been working at this great land question and have taken the responsibility off the shoulders of the Government, have not, up to the present, made any appeal to the Government for the relief of the destitution of Ireland. We feel that we cannot longer shut our eyes to the terrible peril that is approaching, and we think that we ought to put the case before our own countrymen, both at home and here in America, and endeavor to enlist sympathy with our efforts. We believe that in this country the sympathy accorded will be generous and noble, despite the efforts of the English press to depreciate the merits of the American nation. We know full well our countrymen in America will do their duty, as they have in every clime, to their suffering brethren at home. In brief, I confidently anticipate the result of our mission. I believe the result will be

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of such a nature as to give pleasure to us, and also give help to our people at home. I can only conclude by again asking you to believe that I thank you most heartily for your great kindness in meeting us on the threshold of America. Again, I thank you.

AGAINST NONRESIDENT LANDLORDS

(From the Speech Delivered in St. Louis, March 4th, 1880)

Mr. President and Ladies and Gentlemen:—

I THANK you for this magnificent meeting—a splendid token of your sympathy and appreciation for the cause of suffering Ireland. It is a remarkable fact that while America, throughout the length and breadth of her country, does her very utmost to show her sympathy and send her practical help to our people; while there is scarcely any hand save America's between the starvation of large masses of the western peasantry, England alone of almost all the civilized nations does scarcely anything, although close beside Ireland, to help the terrible suffering and famine which now oppress that country. I speak a fact when I say that if it had not been for the help which has gone from America during the last two months among these, our people would have perished ere now of starvation. . . .

We are asked: "Why do you not recommend emigration to America?" and we are told that the lands of Ireland are too crowded. The lands of Ireland are not too crowded; they are less thickly populated than those of any civilized country in the world; they are far less thickly populated—the rich lands of Ireland—than any of your western States. It is only on the barren hillsides of Connemara and along the west Atlantic coast that we have too thick a population, and it is only on the unfertile lands that our people are allowed to live. They are not allowed to occupy and till the rich lands; these rich lands are retained as preserves for landlords, and as vast grazing tracts for cattle. And although emigration might be a temporary alleviation of the trouble in Ireland, it would be a cowardly step on our part; it would be running away from our difficulties in Ireland, and it would be an acknowledgment of the complete conquest of Ireland by England, an acknowledgment which, please God, Ireland shall never make.

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No! we will stand by our country, and whether we are exterminated by famine to-day, or decimated by English bayonets to-morrow, the people of Ireland are determined to uphold the God-given right of Ireland—to take her place among the nations of the world. Our tenantry are engaged in a struggle of life and death with the Irish landlords. It is no use to attempt to conceal the issues which have been made there. The landlords say that there is not room for both tenants and landlords, and that the people must go, and the people have said that the landlords must go. But it may—it may, and it undoubtedly will happen in this struggle that some of our gallant tenantry will be driven from their homes and evicted. In that case we will use some of the money with which you are intrusting us in this country for the purpose of finding happier homes in this far western land for those of our expatriated people, and it will place us in a position of great power, and give our people renewed confidence in their struggle, if they are assured that any of them who are evicted in their attempts to stand by their rights will get one hundred and fifty good acres of land in Minnesota, Illinois, or some of your fine western States.

Now the cable announces to us to-day that the Government is about to attempt to renew the famous Irish Coercion Acts which expired this year. Let me explain to you what these Coercion Acts are. Under them the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland is entitled at any time to proclaim in any Irish country, forbidding any inhabitant of that country to go outside of his door after dark, and subjecting him to a long term of imprisonment with hard labor, if he is found outside his door after dark. No man is permitted to carry a gun, or to handle arms in his house; and the farmers of Ireland are not even permitted to shoot at the birds when they eat the seed corn on their freshly-sowed land. Under these acts it is also possible for the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland to have any man arrested and consigned to prison without charge, and without bringing him to trial; to keep him in prison as long as he pleases; and circumstances have been known where the Government has arrested prisoners under these Coercion Acts, and has kept them in solitary confinement for two years and not allowed them to see a single relative or to communicate with a friend during all that period, and has finally forgotten the existence of the helpless prisoners. And this is the infamous code which England is now seeking to re-enact. I tell

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you, when I read this dispatch, strongly impressed as I am with the magnitude and vast importance of the work in which we are engaged in this country, that I felt strongly tempted to hurry back to Westminster in order to show this English Government whether it shall dare, in this year 1880, to renew this odious code with as much facility as it has done in former years. We shall then be able to put to a test the newly-forged gagging rules that they have invented for the purpose of depriving the Irish Members of freedom of speech. And I wish to express my belief, my firm conviction, that if the Irish Members do their duty, that it will be impossible that this infamous statute can be re-enacted; and if it again finds its place upon the statute book, I say that the day upon which the royal assent is given to that Coercion Act will sound the knell of the political future of the Irish people. . . .

And now, I thank you in conclusion for the magnificent service that you are doing for the cause of Ireland. Keep up this work; help to destroy the Irish land system which hangs like a millstone around the necks of our people, and when we have killed the Irish land system we shall have done much to kill English misgovernment in Ireland.

We cannot give up the right of Ireland to be a nation, and although we may devote all our energies to remove the deadly upas tree of Irish landlordism, yet still you will trust us and believe that above and before all we recognize and are determined to work for the right of Ireland to regain her lost nationhood. We believe that Ireland is eminently fitted to take her place among the nations of the world. A people who can boast of such a history as ours; who can boast of martyrs like Robert Emmet, whose memory we celebrate to-day; who have had such leaders as Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Wolfe Tone; whose literature has been enriched by a Davis — I say that such a people has shown that although we may be kept down for a time, we cannot long continue deprived of our rights. And I, for one, feel just as convinced that Ireland will be a nation some day or other as I feel convinced that in a year or two the last vestiges of landlordism will have disappeared from the face of our country.

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SIR ROBERT PEEL

(1788–1850)

SIR ROBERT PEEL, twice Prime Minister of England, was a man of the most versatile mind and varied activities, but he is remembered chiefly by his part in bringing about the repeal of the Corn Laws and by his establishment of the Irish Constabulary who were called after him "Peelers." He was born near Bury in Lancashire, February 5th, 1788, the son of Sir Robert Peel, a calico printer. After his graduation at Oxford, he was elected to Parliament and was rapidly advanced by his Tory associates who recognized his abilities. As Under-Secretary for Ireland, he opposed Catholic emancipation and led the most extreme opponents of Irish autonomy. He was Home Secretary under Lord Liverpool and again under the Duke of Wellington. After reversing himself and losing the confidence of his political friends by consenting to Catholic emancipation, he regained his place in their esteem by opposing the Reform Bill. He became Prime Minister in 1834 and resigned in 1835. Restored to the Premiership in 1841, he became a convert to Free Trade, and on January 27th, 1846, moved, and was largely instrumental in securing, the repeal of the Corn Laws. He died July 2d, 1850.

ON THE REPEAL OF THE CORN LAWS

(From the Speech Delivered in the House of Commons, May 15th, 1846)

SIR, I believe it is now nearly three months since I first proposed, as the organ of her Majesty's government, the measure which, I trust, is about to receive to-night the sanction of the House of Commons; and, considering the lapse of time—considering the frequent discussions—considering the anxiety of the people of this country that these debates should be brought to a close, I feel that I should be offering an insult to the House—I should be offering an insult to the country, if I were to condescend to bandy personalities upon such an occasion. Sir, I foresaw that the course which I have taken from a sense of public duty would expose me to serious sacrifices. I foresaw as its inevitable result that I must forfeit friendships which I most

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SIR ROBERT PEEL.

After the Design by R. Scanlan. Engraved by W. Mote.

THIS portrait of Peel is by no means the most youthful of those extant. He entered Parliament at 21 in 1809, and after retiring was re-elected in 1817. In 1822 he became Home Secretary under Lord Liverpool, and it is probable that he sat for this portrait during that period of his career.

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highly valued — that I must interrupt political relations in which I felt a sincere pride; but the smallest of all the penalties which I anticipated were the continued venomous attacks of the Member for Shrewsbury [Mr. D'Israeli.] Sir, I will only say of that honorable gentleman, that if he, after reviewing the whole of my public life — a life extending over thirty years previous to my accession to office in 1841 — if he then entertained the opinion of me which he now professes; if he thought I was guilty of these petty larcenies from Mr. Horner and others, it is a little surprising that in the spring of 1841, after his long experience of my public career, he should have been prepared to give me his confidence. It is still more surprising that he should have been ready — as I think he was — to unite his fortunes with mine in office, thus implying the strongest proof which any public man can give of confidence in the honor and integrity of a minister of the Crown.

Sir, I have explained more than once what were the circumstances under which I felt it my duty to take this course. I did feel in November last that there was just cause for apprehension of scarcity and famine in Ireland. I am stating what were the apprehensions I felt at that time, what were the motives from which I acted; and those apprehensions, though they may be denied now, were at least shared then by those honorable gentlemen who sit below the gangway [the Protectionists]. The honorable Member for Somersetshire [Sir T. Acland] expressly declared that at the period to which I referred he was prepared to acquiesce in the suspension of the Corn Laws. An honorable Member also, a recent addition to this House, who spoke with great ability the other night, the honorable Member for Dorsetshire [Mr. Seymer] distinctly declared that he thought I should have abandoned my duty if I had not advised that, considering the circumstances of Ireland, the restrictions on the importation of foreign corn should be temporarily removed. I may have been wrong, but my impression was, first, that my duty towards a country threatened with famine required that that which had been the ordinary remedy under all similar circumstances should be resorted to — namely, that there should be free access to the food of man from whatever quarter it might come. I was prepared to give the best proof which public men generally can give of the sincerity of their opinions, by tendering my resignation of office, and devolving upon others the duty of proposing

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this measure; and, sir, I felt this, that if these laws were once suspended, and there was unlimited access to food, the produce of other countries, I, and those with whom I acted, felt the strongest conviction that it was not for the public interest — that it was not for the interest of the agricultural party, that an attempt should be made permanently to reimpose restrictions on the importation of food. . . .

These are the motives on which I acted. I know the penalty to which I must be subject for having so acted; but I declare, even after the continuance of these debates, that I am only the more impressed with the conviction that the policy we advise is correct. An honorable gentleman in the course of this evening, the honorable Member for Sunderland [Mr. Hudson], informed us that he had heard that there was excitement about the Corn Laws; but he undertook to give a peremptory contradiction to that report, for he never recollected any public question being proposed involving such great interests, which, on the whole, was received by all classes concerned — by the manufacturing and by the agricultural classes — with less excitement and with a greater disposition to confide in the wisdom of the decision of Parliament. Well, if that be so — if this question is proposed at such a time — [Mr. Hudson — No, no!] I, certainly understood the honorable Member to make that statement. [Mr. Hudson — I will explain later.] I may be mistaken, and of course I am, if the honorable Member says so; but I understood him to say that so far from there being any undue excitement, he thought that there was much less than could have been expected, and that all parties were disposed to acquiesce in the decision of Parliament.

[Mr. Hudson — What I stated I believe was this: that there was no excitement in favor of the bill — not that there was a deep feeling on the part of the agriculturists against it, but that there was no public excitement in its favor.]

That varies very little from the expressions I used, and entirely justifies the inference which I drew. If there be no excitement in favor of the bill, and no strong feeling on the part of the agriculturists against it, it appears to me that this is not an unfavorable moment for the dispassionate consideration by Parliament of a subject otherwise calculated to promote excitement on the part of one class and to cause great apprehension on the part of the other; and the honorable Member's statement is a strong confirmation of my belief that it is wise to undertake

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the settlement of this question when there is such absence of excitement, rather than to wait until a period when unfavorable harvests and depressed manufactures may have brought about a state of things which may render it less easy for you to exercise a dispassionate judgment on the matter. Sir, I do not rest my support of this bill merely upon the temporary ground of scarcity in Ireland. I do not rest my support of the bill upon that temporary scarcity; but I believe that scarcity left no alternative to us, but to undertake the consideration of this question; and that consideration being necessary, I think that a permanent adjustment of the question is not only imperative, but the best policy for all concerned. And I repeat now, that I have a firm belief that it is for the general benefit of all — for the best interests of the country, independent of the obligation imposed on us by temporary scarcity — it is for the general interests of the great body of the people that an arrangement should be made for a permanent removal of the restrictions upon the introduction of food. . . .

I have stated the reasons which have induced me to take the present course. You may no doubt say that I am only going on the experience of three years and am acting contrary to the principles of my whole life. Well, I admit that charge — I admit that I have defended the existence of the Corn Laws — yes, and that up to the present period I have refused to acquiesce in the proposition to destroy them. I candidly admit all this; but when I am told that I am acting inconsistently with the principles of my whole life, by advocating Free Trade, I give this statement a peremptory denial. During the last three years I have subjected myself to many taunts on this question, and you have often said to me that Earl Grey had found out something indicating a change in my opinions. Did I not say I thought that we ought not hastily to disturb vested interests by any rash legislation? Did I not declare that the principle of political economy suggested the purchasing in the cheapest market, and the selling in the dearest market? Did I not say that I thought there was nothing so special in the produce of agriculture that should exempt it from the application of this principle which we have applied already to other articles? You have a right, I admit, to taunt me with any change of opinion upon the Corn Laws; but when you say that by my adoption of the principle of Free Trade I have acted in contradiction to those principles which I

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have always avowed during my whole life, that charge, at least, I say, is destitute of foundation. . . .

Sir, if I look to the prerogative of the Crown — if I look to the position of the Church — if I look to the influence of the aristocracy — I cannot charge myself with having taken any course inconsistent with conservative principles, calculated to endanger the privileges of any branch of the legislature, or of any institutions of the country. My earnest wish has been, during my tenure of power, to impress the people of this country with a belief that the legislature was animated by a sincere desire to frame its legislation upon the principles of equity and justice. I have a strong belief that the greatest object which we or any other government can contemplate should be to elevate the social condition of that class of the people with whom we are brought into no direct relationship by the exercise of the elective franchise. I wish to convince them that our object has been to apportion taxation, that we shall relieve industry and labor from any undue burden, and transfer it, so far as is consistent with the public good, to those who are better enabled to bear it. I look to the present peace of this country; I look to the absence of all disturbance — to the nonexistence of any commitment for a seditious offense; I look to the calm that prevails in the public mind; I look to the absence of all disaffection; I look to the increased and growing public confidence on account of the course you have taken in relieving trade from restrictions, and industry from unjust burdens; and where there was dissatisfaction I see contentment, where there was turbulence I see there is peace; where there was disloyalty I see there is loyalty; I see a disposition to confide in you, and not to agitate questions that are at the foundations of your institutions. Deprive me of power to-morrow, you can never deprive me of the consciousness that I have exercised the powers committed to me from no corrupt or interested motives — from no desire to gratify ambition, or attain any personal object; that I have labored to maintain peace abroad consistently with the national honor and defending every public right — to increase the confidence of the great body of the people in the justice of your decisions, and by the means of equal law to dispense with all coercive powers — to maintain loyalty to the Throne, and attachment to the Constitution, from a conviction of the benefit that will accrue to the great body of the people.

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A PLEA FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

(From the Address Delivered on His Installation as Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow, January 11th, 1837)

"IT IS very natural," says Sir Joshua Reynolds, "for those who are unacquainted with the cause of anything extraordinary, to be astonished at the effect and to consider it as a kind of magic.

"The travelers into the East tell us that when the ignorant inhabitants of those countries are asked concerning the ruins of stately edifices yet remaining among them, the melancholy monuments of their former grandeur and long-lost science, they always answer that they were built by magicians. The untaught mind finds a vast gulf between its own powers and those works of complicated art which it is utterly unable to fathom, and it supposes that such a void can be passed only by supernatural powers."

We have, in the instance of Cicero, the stately edifice, the monument of intellectual grandeur; but we have also the evidence of the illustrious architect to prove to us by what careful process the foundations were securely laid and the scaffolding gradually erected. Our wonder at the perfection of the work may be abated, but what can abate our admiration and respect for the elevated views—the burning thirst for knowledge and for fame—the noble ambition which "scorned delights, and lived laborious days"—which had engraven on the memory the paternal exhortation to the hero in Homer, the noblest, says Doctor Johnson, that can be found in any heathen writer:—

"Αιεν αριστευειν και υπειροχον εμμεναι αλλων."

The name, the authority, the example of Cicero, conduct me naturally to a topic which I should be unwilling to pass in silence. I allude to the immense importance to all who aspire to conspicuous stations in any department of public or learned professional life,—the immense importance of classical acquirements, of imbuing your minds with a knowledge of the pure models of antiquity and a taste for their constant study and cultivation. Do not disregard this admonition from the impression that it proceeds from the natural prejudice in favor of classical learning, which an English university may have unconsciously

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instilled, or that it is offered presumptuously by one who is ignorant of that description of knowledge which is best adapted to the habits and occupations of society in Scotland.

Oh, let us take higher and more extensive views! Feel assured that a wider horizon than that of Scotland is opening upon you —that you are candidates starting with equal advantage for every prize of profit or distinction which the wide circle of an empire extended through every quarter of the globe can include.

Bear in mind, too, that every improvement in the means of communication between distant parts of that empire is pointing out a new avenue to fame, particularly to those who are remote from the seat of government. This is not the place where injustice should be done to that mighty discovery which is effecting a daily change in the pre-existing relations of society. It is not within the college of Glasgow that a false and injurious estimate should be made of the results of the speculations of Black and of the inventive genius of Watt. The steam engine and the railroad are not merely facilitating the transport of merchandise, they are not merely shortening the duration of journeys, or administering to the supply of physical wants. They are speeding the intercourse between mind and mind; they are creating new demands for knowledge; they are fertilizing the intellectual as well as the material waste; they are removing the impediments which obscurity, or remoteness, or poverty, may have heretofore opposed to the emerging of real merit.

They are supplying you, in the mere facility of locomotion, with a new motive for classical study. They are enabling you with comparative ease to enjoy that pure and refined pleasure which makes the past predominate over the present, when we stand upon the spots where the illustrious deeds of ancient times have been performed, and meditate on monuments that are associated with names and actions that can never perish. They are offering to your lips the intoxicating draught that is described with such noble enthusiasm by Gibbon: "At the distance of twenty-five years I can neither forget nor express the strong emotions which agitated my mind as I first approached and entered the eternal city. After a sleepless night I trod with a lofty step the ruins of the Forum; each memorable spot where Romulus stood, or Tully spoke, or Cæsar fell, was at once present to my eye, and several days of intoxication were lost or enjoyed before I could descend to a cool or minute investigation." . . .

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By every motive which can influence a reflecting and responsible being, "a being of large discourse, looking before and after," — by the memory of the distinguished men who have shed a lustre on these walls, — by regard for your own success and happiness in this life, — by the fear of future discredit, — by the hope of lasting fame, — by all these considerations do I conjure you, while you have yet time, while your minds are yet flexible, to form them on the models which approach the nearest to perfection. *Sursum corda!* By motives yet more urgent, — by higher and purer aspirations, — by the duty of obedience to the will of God, — by this awful account you will have to render, not merely of moral actions, but of faculties intrusted to you for improvement, — by these high arguments do I conjure you so "to number your days that you may apply your hearts unto wisdom" — unto that wisdom which, directing your ambition to the noble end of benefiting mankind, and teaching you humble reliance on the merits and on the mercy of your Redeemer, may support you "in the time of your tribulation," may admonish you "in the time of your wealth," and "in the hour of death, and in the day of judgment," may comfort you with the hope of deliverance.

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EDMUND PENDLETON

(1721–1803)

THE argument on the First and Second Sections of the Federal Constitution, delivered by Edmund Pendleton in the Virginia Convention of 1788, has been admired as one of the best of the many searching analyses of the principles of government made during that period. Pendleton was born in Caroline County, Virginia, September 9th, 1721. At different times he was a Member of the Virginia House of Burgesses, and of the Continental Congress. He was President of the Virginia Convention, and the resolutions instructing the State representatives in Congress to propose the Declaration of Independence were written by him. He died at Richmond, October 23d, 1803.

LIBERTY AND GOVERNMENT IN AMERICA

(On the First and Second Sections of the Federal Constitution — Delivered in the Virginia Convention, June 12th, 1788)

Mr. Chairman:—

WHEN I spoke formerly, I endeavored to account for the uneasiness of the public mind, on the ground that it arose from objections to government drawn from mistaken sources. I stated the general governments of the world to have been either dictated by a conqueror at the point of his sword, or the offspring of confusion when a great popular leader, seizing the occasion, if he did not produce it, restored order at the expense of liberty, and became the tyrant. In either case, the interest and ambition of the despot, and not the good of society, give the tone to the government, and establish contending interests. A war is commenced and kept up, where there ought to be union; and the friends of liberty have sounded the alarm to the people, to regain that liberty which circumstances have thus deprived them of. Those alarms, misrepresented and improperly applied to this government, have produced uneasiness in the public mind.

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I said, improperly applied, because the people, by us, are peaceably assembled, to contemplate, in the calm lights of mild philosophy, what government is best calculated to promote their happiness and secure their liberty. This I am sure we shall effect, if we do not lose sight of them by too much attachment to pictures of beauty, or horror, in our researches into antiquity, our travels for examples into remote regions, or severe criticisms upon our unfriendly applications of expressions which may drop in the effusions of honest zeal. The term "herd" was thus produced, meaning to express a multitude. It was capable of an odious application, that of placing the citizens in a degrading character. I wish it had not been used, and I wish the gentleman on the other side had thought himself at liberty to let it pass, without pointing out its odious meaning. However, I claim no right to prescribe to him. It is done, and it must rest with the candor of the attending citizens, whom it concerns, to give it the innocent meaning which, I am sure, the honorable gentleman intended.

On the subject of government, the worthy member [Mr. Henry] and I differ at the threshold. I think government necessary to protect liberty. He supposes the American spirit all-sufficient for the purpose. What say the most respectable writers — Montesquieu, Locke, Sidney, Harrington, etc.? They have presented us with no such idea. They properly discard from their system all the severity of cruel punishment, such as tortures, inquisitions, and the like — shocking to human nature, and only calculated to coerce the dominion of tyrants over slaves. But they recommend making the ligaments of governments firm, and a rigid execution of the laws as more necessary than in a monarchy to preserve that virtue which they all declare to be the pillar on which the government, and liberty, its object, must stand. They are not so visionary as to suppose there ever did, or ever will, exist a society, however large their aggregate fund of virtue may be, but hath among them persons of a turbulent nature, restless in themselves and disturbing the peace of others — sons of rapine and violence, who, unwilling to labor themselves, are watching every opportunity to snatch from the industrious peasant the fruits of his honest labor. Was I not, then, correct in my inference, that such a government and liberty were friends and allies, and that their common enemies were turbulence, faction, and violence? It is those, therefore, that will be

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offended by good government; and for those I suppose no gentleman will profess himself an advocate.

The writers just mentioned point out licentiousness as the natural offspring of liberty, and that, therefore, all free governments should endeavor to suppress it, or else it will ultimately overthrow that liberty of which it is the result. Is this speculation only? Alas! reason and experience too fatally prove its truth in all instances. A republican government is the nursery of science. It turns the bent of it to eloquence, as a qualification for the representative character, which is, as it ought to be, the road to our public offices. I have pleasure in beholding these characters already produced in our councils — and a rising fund equal to a constant supply. May heaven prosper their endeavors, and direct their eloquence to the real good of their country! I am unfortunate enough to differ from the worthy member in another circumstance. He professes himself an advocate for the middling and lower classes of men. I profess to be a friend to the equal liberty of all men, from the palace to the cottage, without any other distinction than that between good and bad men. I appeal to my public life and private behavior, to decide whether I have departed from this rule. Since distinctions have been brought forth and communicated to the audience, and will be therefore disseminated, I beg gentlemen to take with them this observation — that distinctions have been produced by the opposition. From the friends of the new government they have heard none. None such are to be found in the organization of the paper before you.

Why bring into the debate the whims of writers — introducing the distinction of well-born from others? I consider every man well-born who comes into the world with an intelligent mind, and with all his parts perfect. I am an advocate for fixing our government on true republican principles, giving to the poor man free liberty in his person and property.

Whether a man be great or small, he is equally dear to me. I wish, sir, for a regular government in order to secure and protect those honest citizens who have been distinguished, — I mean the industrious farmer and planter. I wish them to be protected in the enjoyment of their honestly and industriously acquired property. I wish commerce to be fully protected and encouraged, that the people may have an opportunity of disposing of their crops at market, and of procuring such supplies as they

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may be in want of. I presume that there can be no political happiness unless industry be cherished and protected, and properly secured. Suppose a poor man becomes rich by honest labor, and increases the public stock of wealth, shall his reward be the loss of that liberty he set out with? Will you take away every stimulus to industry by declaring that he shall not retain the fruits of it? The idea of the poor becoming rich by assiduity is not mere fancy. I am old enough, and have had sufficient experience, to know the effects of it. I have often known persons, commencing in life without any other stock than industry and economy, by the mere efforts of these, rise to opulence and wealth. This could not have been the case without a government to protect their industry. In my mind the true principle of republicanism, and the greatest security of liberty, is regular government. Perhaps I may not be a Republican, but this is my idea. In reviewing the history of the world shall we find an instance where any society retained its liberty without government? As I before hinted, the smallest society in extent to the greatest empire can only be preserved by a regular government to suppress that faction and turbulence so natural to many of our species. What do men do with those passions when they come into society? Do they leave them? No; they bring them with them. These passions which they thus bring into society will produce disturbances, which, without any checks, will overturn it.

A distinction has been made which surprised me, between the illumined mind and the ignorant. I have heard with pleasure, in other places, that worthy gentleman expatiate on the advantages of learning — among other things, as friendly to liberty. I have seen, in our code of laws, the public purse applied to cherish private seminaries. This is not strictly just; but with me the end sanctified the means, and I was satisfied. But did we thus encourage learning to set up those who attained its benefits as butts of invidious distinction? Surely the worthy member, on reflection, will disavow the idea. He learns to little purpose, indeed, who vainly supposes himself become, from the circumstance, of an order of beings superior to the honest citizens — peasants if you please to term them so — who, in their labor, produce great good to the community. But those illumined minds who apply their knowledge to promote and cherish liberty — equal liberty to all, the peasant as well as others — give to society the real blessings of learning.

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I have seen learning used both ways; but have had pleasure in observing that lately the latter fruits only have generally appeared, which I attribute to the influence of republican principles and a regard for true liberty. Am I still suspected of want of attachment for my worthy fellow-citizens whom the gentleman calls peasants and cottagers? Let me add one more observation. I cannot leave them in the state in which he has placed them — in the parallel between them and those of Switzerland, the United Netherlands, and Great Britain. The peasants of the Swiss cantons trade in war. Trained in arms, they become the mercenaries of the best bidder, to carry on the destruction of mankind as an occupation where they have not even resentment. Are these a fit people for a comparison with our worthy planters and farmers, in their drawing food and raiment, and even wealth, by honest labor, from the bowels of the earth, where an inexhaustible store is placed by a bountiful creator?

The citizens of the United Netherlands have no right of suffrage. There they lost that distinguished badge of freedom. Their representation to their State assemblies is of towns and cities, and not of the people at large.

The people of Britain have a right of suffrage, but sell it for a mess of pottage.

The happiness of the people is the object of this Government, and the people are therefore made the fountain of power. They cannot act personally, and must delegate powers. Here the worthy gentleman who spoke last, and I, traveling not together, indeed, but in sight, are placed at an immeasurable distance — as far as the poles asunder. He recommends a government more energetic and strong than this, abundantly too strong ever to receive my approbation,— a first magistrate borrowed from Britain, to whom you are to make a surrender of your liberty; and you give him a separate interest from yours. You intrench that interest by powers and prerogatives undefined — implant in him self-love, from the influence of which he is to do, what — to promote your interest in opposition to his own? An operation of self-love which is new! Having done this, you accept from him a charter of the rights you have parted with; present him a bill of rights, telling him: Thus far shall you oppress us and no farther.

It still depends on him whether he will give you that charter or allow the operation of the Bill of Rights. He will do it as

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long as he cannot do otherwise, but no longer. Did ever any free people in the world, not dictated to by the sword of a conqueror, or by circumstances into which licentiousness may have plunged them, place themselves in so degrading a situation, or make so disgraceful a sacrifice of their liberty? If they did, sure I am that the example will not be followed by this convention. This is not all; we are to look somewhere for the chosen few to go into the ten miles square, with extensive powers for life, and thereby destroy every degree of true responsibility. Is there no medium, or shall we recur to extremes? As a Republican, sir, I think that the security of the liberty and happiness of the people, from the highest to the lowest, being the object of government, the people are consequently the fountain of all power.

They must, however, delegate it to agents, because, from their number, dispersed situation, and many other circumstances, they cannot exercise it in person. They must, therefore, by frequent and certain elections, choose representatives to whom they trust it.

Is there any distinction in the exercise of this delegation of power? The man who possesses twenty-five acres of land has an equal right of voting for a representative with the man who has twenty-five thousand acres. This equality of suffrage secures the people in their property. While we are in pursuit of checks and balances, and proper security in the delegation of power, we ought never to lose sight of the representative character. By this we preserve the great principle of the primary right of power in the people; and should deviations happen from our interest, the spirit of liberty, in future elections, will correct it — a security I esteem far superior to paper Bills of Rights.

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WILLIAM PENN

(1644–1718)

IN 1670, William Penn and his fellow-Quaker, William Mead, were arrested on the charge that "he, the said Penn, abetted by the said Mead, did take upon himself to speak and preach upon the streets" of London, without permission. At their trial before the Mayor, Samuel Starling, and the Recorder, Penn attempted to defend himself by summing up the inalienable rights of Englishmen. He was repeatedly interrupted, the Mayor finally saying: "Stop his mouth, jailer. Bring fetters and stake him to the ground!" Penn afterwards published the speech he would have made if allowed to proceed. The jury were instructed by the Mayor to convict, and when, disregarding the instructions, they acquitted Penn and Mead, each juryman was fined forty marks for contempt. Penn's speech shows that he had a most remarkable intellect. He was born at London, October 14th, 1644, and educated at Oxford, where he acquired the learning he shows in this address. His connection with the Quakers began in 1668. The grant of Pennsylvania was made to him in 1681, and, except when he was deprived of it for a short time (from 1692 to 1694), the control of that colony remained with him until his death, July 30th, 1718. His works were collected and published in 1726, but as they are largely controversial they are seldom read, and he has almost ceased to be suspected of the ability shown in the construction of the Old Bailey address.

THE GOLDEN RULE AGAINST TYRANNY

(Delivered at the Trial of William Penn and William Mead, at the Old Bailey, for a "Tumultuous Assembly," in 1670)

WE HAVE lived to an age so debauched from all humanity and reason, as well as faith and religion, that some stick not to turn butchers to their own privileges and conspirators against their own liberties. For however Magna Charta had once the reputation of a sacred unalterable law, and few were hardened enough to incur and bear the long curse that attends the violators of it, yet it is frequently objected now, that the

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benefits there designed are but temporary, and therefore liable to alteration, as other statutes are. What game such persons play at may be read in the attempts of Dionysius, Phalaris, etc.. which would have will and power be the people's law.

But that the privileges due to Englishmen, by the Great Charter of England, have their foundation in reason and law; and that those new Cassandrian ways to introduce will and power deserve to be detested by all persons professing sense and honesty, and the least allegiance to our English Government, we shall make appear from a sober consideration of the nature of those privileges contained in that charter.

1. The ground of alteration of any law in government (where there is no invasion) should arise from the universal discommodity of its continuance, but there can be no disprofit in the discontinuance of liberty and property, therefore there can be no just ground of alteration.

2. No one Englishman is born slave to another, neither has the one a right to inherit the sweat and benefit of the other's labor, without consent; therefore the liberty and property of an Englishman cannot reasonably be at the will and beck of another, let his quality and rank be never so great.

3 There can be nothing more unreasonable than that which is partial, but to take away the liberty and property of any, which are natural rights, without breaking the law of nature (and not of will and power) is manifestly partial, and therefore unreasonable.

4. If it be just and reasonable for men to do as they would be done by, then no sort of men should invade the liberties and properties of other men, because they would not be served so themselves

5. Where liberty and property are destroyed, there must always be a state of force and war, which, however pleasing it may be unto the invaders, will be esteemed intolerable by the invaded, who will no longer remain subject in all human probability than while they want as much power to free themselves as their adversaries had to enslave them; the troubles, hazards, ill consequences, and illegality of such attempts, as they have declined by the most prudent in all ages, so have they proved most uneasy to the most savage of all nations, who first or last have by a mighty torrent freed themselves, to the due punishment and great infamy of their oppressors; such being the

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advantage, such the disadvantage which necessarily do attend the fixation and removal of liberty and property.

We shall proceed to make it appear that Magna Charta (as recited by us) imports nothing less than their preservation:—

"No freeman shall be taken or imprisoned, or be disseized of his freehold, or liberties, or free customs, or be outlawed, or exiled, or any other ways destroyed; nor we will not pass upon him nor condemn him, but by lawful judgment of his peers, etc.

"A freeman shall not be amerced for a small fault, but after the manner of the fault, and for a great fault after the greatness thereof, and none of the said amercement shall be assessed, but by the oath of good and lawful men of the vicinage."

1. It asserts Englishmen to be free; that's liberty.

2. That they have freeholds; that's property.

3. That amercement or penalties should be proportioned to the faults committed, which is equity.

4. That they shall lose neither, but when they are adjudged to have forfeited them, in the judgment of their honest neighbors, according to the law of the land, which is lawful judgment.

It is easy to discern to what pass the enemies of the Great Charter would bring the people.

1. They are now freemen; but they would have them slaves.

2. They have now right unto their wives, children, and estates, as their undoubted property; but such would rob them of all.

3. Now no man is to be amerced or punished but suitably to his fault; whilst they would make it suitable to their revengeful minds.

4. Whereas the power of judgment lies in the breasts and consciences of twelve honest neighbors, they would have it at the discretion of mercenary judges; to which we cannot choose but add that such discourses manifestly strike at this present constitution of government; for it being founded upon the Great Charter, which is the ancient common law of the land, as upon its best foundation, none can design the canceling of the charter, but they must necessarily intend the extirpation of the English Government; for where the cause is taken away the effect must consequently cease. And as the restoration of our ancient English laws, by the Great Charter, was the sovereign balsam

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which cured our former breaches, so doubtless will the continuation of it prove an excellent prevention to any future disturbances.

But some are ready to object that "The Great Charter consisting as well of religious as civil rights, the former having received an alteration, there is the same reason why the latter may have the like."

To which we answer that the reason of alteration cannot be the same; therefore the consequence is false. The one being a matter of opinion, about faith and religious worship, which is as various as the unconstant apprehensions of men; but the other is matter of so immutable right and justice, that all generations, however differing in their religious opinions, have concentred, and agreed to the certainty, equity, and indispensable necessity of preserving these fundamental laws; so that Magna Charta hath not risen and fallen with the differing religious opinions that have been in this land, but have ever remained as the stable right of every individual Englishman, purely as an Englishman. Otherwise, if the civil privileges of the people had fallen with the pretended religious privileges of the popish tyranny, at the first reformation, as must needs be suggested by this objection, our case had ended here, that we had obtained a spiritual freedom, at the cost of a civil bondage; which certainly was far from the intention of the first reformers, and probably an unseen consequence, by the objectors to their idle opinion.

In short, there is no time in which any man may plead the necessity of such an action as is unjust in its own nature, which he must unavoidably be guilty of, that doth deface or cancel that law by which the justice of liberty and property is confirmed and maintained to the people. And consequently no person may legally attempt the subversion or extenuation of the force of the Great Charter. We shall proceed to prove from instances out of both.

1. Any judgment given contrary to the said charter is to be undone and holden for naught. 25th Edward I., chap. ii.

2. Any that by word, deed, or counsel, go contrary to the said charter are to be excommunicated by the bishops; and the archbishop of Canterbury and York are bound to compel the other bishops to denounce sentence accordingly, in case of their remissness or neglect, which certainly hath relation to the State rather than the Church, since there was never any necessity of compell-

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ing the bishops to denounce sentence in their own case, though frequently in the people's. 25th Edward I., chap. iv.

3. That the Great Charter and Charter of Forest be holden and kept in all points, and if any statute be made to the contrary, that it shall be holden for naught. 42d Edward III., chap. i. Upon which Coke, that famous English lawyer, said:—

"Albeit judgments in the King's courts are of high regard in law, and *judicia* are accounted as *juris dicta*, yet it is provided by act of Parliament that if any judgment be given contrary to any of the points of the Great Charter, it should be holden for naught."

He further said:—

"That upon the Statute of the 25th of Edward I., chap. i., that this Great Charter and the Charter of Forest are properly the common law of the land, or the law is common to all the people thereof."

4. Another statute runs thus:—

"If any force come to disturb the execution of the common law, ye shall cause their bodies to be arrested and put in prison; ye shall deny no man right by the King's letters, nor counsel the King anything that may turn to his damage or disherison. 18th Edward III., chap. vii. Neither to delay right by the Great and Little Seal." This is the judge's charge and oath. 2d Edward III., chap. viii.; 14th Edward III., chap. xiv.; 11th Richard II., chap. x.

Such care hath been taken for the preservation of this Great Charter that in the 25th Edward I. it was enacted:—

"That commissioners should issue forth that there should be chosen in every shire court, by the commonalty of the same shire, three substantial men, knights or other lawful, wise, and well-disposed persons, to be justices, which shall be assigned by the King's letters patent, under the Great Seal, to hear and determine without any other writ, but only their commission, such plaints as shall be made upon all those that commit or offend against any point contained in the aforesaid charters." 28th Edward I., chap. i. . . .

So heinous a thing was it esteemed of old to endeavor an enervation or subversion of these ancient rights and privileges, that acts of Parliament themselves (otherwise the most sacred with the people) have not been of force enough to secure or defend such persons from condign punishment, who, in pursuance

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of them, have acted inconsistent with our Great Charter. Therefore it is that great lawyer, the Lord Coke, doth once more aggravate the example of Empson and Dudley (with persons of the same rank) into a just caution, as well to Parliaments as judges, justices, and inferior magistrates, to decline making or executing any act that may in the least seem to restringe or confirm this so often avowed and confirmed Great Charter of the liberties of England, since Parliaments are said to err when they cross it; the obeyers of their acts punished as time-serving transgressors, and that kings themselves (though enriched by those courses) have, with great compunction and repentance, left among their dying words their recantations.

Therefore most notable and true it was, with which we shall conclude this present subject, what the King pleased to observe in the speech to the Parliament about 1662, namely: "The good old rules of law are our best security."

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PERICLES

(*c.* 495–429 B. C.)

THE Age of Pericles is celebrated as the climax of Athenian civilization. In its poetry, its architecture, and its sculpture, the Athens of that age illustrated the highest excellence of the Greek intellect. Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, the three greatest tragic poets of antiquity, all belong to this period, and the building of the Parthenon was a manifestation of its controlling idea — the idea that the intellect should be so developed as to express in all things the highest sense of order, and beauty, never extravagant, and directed always by the severest chastity of respect for law. This spirit is illustrated in the eloquence of Pericles, as Thucydides reports him. It would be most interesting to inquire how such qualities could have been developed among a people so fickle and volatile as the Athenians, but they certainly were developed, the direct compelling cause being the smallness of the Athenian State, its impotence in every trial of strength depending merely on physical force, and the absolute necessity it was under as a small State to develop to the utmost its intellectual resources. Its history under Pericles has a parallel in that of England in the Shakespearean age, when as a result of what might best be called "provincialism," if that word did not have an odious suggestion, local sympathy made possible the production of intellectual masterpieces never surpassed and seldom equaled in the history of the world. Born about 495 B. C., Pericles became active in Athenian politics about the year 469. Becoming the leader of the Democratic party, he brought about the ostracism of his principal opponents, and gained complete control of the city. The house of his mistress, Aspasia, was the resort of the most celebrated writers and philosophers of Athens. It is said that she assisted Pericles in composing his famous oration of 431 B. C., here published.

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ON THE CAUSES OF ATHENIAN GREATNESS

(An Oration Delivered at the Public Funeral of the Athenian Soldiers Killed in the First Year of the Peloponnesian War, 431 B. C.)

MANY of those who have spoken before me on these occasions have commended the author of that law which we are now obeying, for having instituted an oration to the honor of those who sacrifice their lives in fighting for their country. For my part, I think it sufficient for men who have proved their virtue in action, by action to be honored for it — by such as you see the public gratitude now performing about this funeral; and that the virtues of many ought not to be endangered by the management of any one person when their credit must precariously depend on his oration, which may be good and may be bad. Difficult, indeed, it is, judiciously to handle a subject where even probable truth will hardly gain assent. The hearer, enlightened by a long acquaintance, and warm in his affection, may quickly pronounce everything unfavorably expressed in respect to what he wishes and what he knows,— while the stranger pronounces all exaggerated through envy of those deeds which he is conscious are above his own achievement. For the praises bestowed upon others are then only to be endured, when men imagine they can do those feats they hear to have been done: they envy what they cannot equal, and immediately pronounce it false. Yet, as this solemnity hath received its sanction from the authority of our ancestors, it is my duty also to obey the law and to endeavor to procure, as far as I am able, the good-will and approbation of all my audience.

I shall therefore begin first with our forefathers, since both justice and decency require we should on this occasion bestow on them an honorable remembrance. In this our country they kept themselves always firmly settled, and through their valor handed it down free to every since-succeeding generation. Worthy, indeed, of praise are they, and yet more worthy are our immediate fathers, since, enlarging their own inheritance into the extensive empire which we now possess, they bequeathed that, their work of toil, to us their sons. Yet even these successes we ourselves here present, we who are yet in the strength and vigor of our days, have nobly improved, and have made such provisions for this our Athens that now it is all-sufficient in itself to answer

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every exigence of war and of peace. I mean not here to recite those martial exploits by which these ends were accomplished, or the resolute defenses we ourselves and our fathers have made against the formidable invasions of barbarians and Greeks — your own knowledge of these will excuse the long detail. But by what methods we have risen to this height of glory and power, by what polity and by what conduct we are thus aggrandized, I shall first endeavor to show, and then proceed to the praise of the deceased. These, in my opinion, can be no impertinent topics on this occasion; the discussion of them must be beneficial to this numerous company of Athenians and of strangers.

We are happy in a form of government which cannot envy the laws of our neighbors,— for it hath served as a model to others, but is original at Athens. And this our form, as committed not to the few, but to the whole body of the people, is called a democracy. How different soever in a private capacity, we all enjoy the same general equality our laws are fitted to preserve; and superior honors just as we excel. The public administration is not confined to a particular family, but is attainable only by merit. Poverty is not a hindrance, since whoever is able to serve his country meets with no obstacle to preferment from his first obscurity. The offices of the State we go through without obstructions from one another; and live together in the mutual endearments of private life without suspicions; not angry with a neighbor for following the bent of his own humor, nor putting on that countenance of discontent, which pains though it cannot punish — so that in private life we converse without diffidence or damage, while we dare not on any account offend against the public, through the reverence we bear to the magistrates and the laws, chiefly to those enacted for redress of the injured, and to those unwritten, a breach of which is thought a disgrace. Our laws have further provided for the mind most frequent intermissions of care by the appointment of public recreations and sacrifices throughout the year, elegantly performed with a peculiar pomp, the daily delight of which is a charm that puts melancholy to flight. The grandeur of this our Athens causeth the produce of the whole earth to be imported here, by which we reap a familiar enjoyment, not more of the delicacies of our own growth than of those of other nations.

In the affairs of war we excel those of our enemies, who adhere to methods opposite to our own. For we lay open Athens

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to general resort, nor ever drive any stranger from us whom either improvement or curiosity hath brought amongst us, lest any enemy should hurt us by seeing what is never concealed. We place not so great a confidence in the preparatives and artifices of war as in the native warmth of our souls impelling us to action. In point of education the youth of some peoples are inured, by a course of laborious exercise, to support toil and exercise like men, but we, notwithstanding our easy and elegant way of life, face all the dangers of war as intrepidly as they. This may be proved by facts, since the Lacedæmonians never invade our territories barely with their own, but with the united strength of all their confederates. But when we invade the dominions of our neighbors, for the most part we conquer without difficulty in an enemy's country those who fight in defense of their own habitations. The strength of our whole force no enemy yet hath ever experienced, because it is divided by our naval expeditions, or engaged in the different quarters of our service by land. But if anywhere they engage and defeat a small party of our forces, they boastingly give it out a total defeat; and if they are beat, they were certainly overpowered by our united strength. What though from a state of inactivity rather than laborious exercise, or with a natural rather than an acquired valor, we learn to encounter danger? — this good, at least, we receive from it, that we never droop under the apprehension of possible misfortunes, and when we hazard the danger, are found no less courageous than those who are continually inured to it. In these respects our whole community deserves justly to be admired, and in many we have yet to mention.

In our manner of living we show an elegance tempered with frugality, and we cultivate philosophy without enervating the mind. We display our wealth in the season of beneficence, and not in the vanity of discourse. A confession of poverty is disgrace to no man, no effort to avoid it is disgrace indeed. There is visible in the same persons an attention to their own private concerns and those of the public; and in others engaged in the labors of life there is a competent skill in the affairs of government. For we are the only people who think him that does not meddle in state affairs,— not indolent, but good for nothing. And yet we pass the soundest judgments, and are quick at catching the right apprehensions of things, not thinking that words are prejudicial to actions, but rather the not being duly prepared by

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previous debate before we are obliged to proceed to execution. Herein consists our distinguishing excellence, that in the hour of action we show the greatest courage, and yet debate beforehand the expediency of our measures. The courage of others is the result of ignorance; deliberation makes them cowards. And those undoubtedly must be owned to have the greatest souls, who, most acutely sensible of the miseries of war and the sweets of peace, are not hence in the least deterred from facing danger.

In acts of beneficence, further, we differ from the many. We preserve friends not by receiving, but by conferring, obligations. For he who does a kindness hath the advantage over him who, by the law of gratitude, becomes a debtor to his benefactor. The person obliged is compelled to act the more insipid part, conscious that a return of kindness is merely a payment and not an obligation. And we alone are splendidly beneficent to others, not so much from interested motives, as for the credit of pure liberality. I shall sum up what yet remains by only adding that our Athens in general is the school of Greece; and that every single Athenian amongst us is excellently formed, by his personal qualification, for all the various scenes of active life, acting with a most graceful demeanor and a most ready habit of despatch.

That I have not on this occasion made use of a pomp of words, but the truth of facts, that height to which by such a conduct this State hath risen, is an undeniable proof. For we are now the only people of the world who are found by experience to be greater than in report — the only people who, repelling the attacks of an invading enemy, exempts their defeat from the blush of indignation, and to their tributaries yields no discontent, as if subject to men unworthy to command. That we deserve our power, we need no evidence to manifest. We have great and signal proofs of this, which entitle us to the admiration of the present and future ages. We want no Homer to be the herald of our praise; no poet to deck off a history with the charms of verse, where the opinion of exploits must suffer by a strict relation. Every sea hath been opened by our fleets, and every land hath been penetrated by our armies, which have everywhere left behind them eternal monuments of our enmity and our friendship.

In the just defense of such a State, these victims of their own valor, scorning the ruin threatened to it, have valiantly fought

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and bravely died. And every one of those who survive is ready, I am persuaded, to sacrifice life in such a cause. And for this reason have I enlarged so much on national points, to give the clearest proof that in the present war we have more at stake than men whose public advantages are not so valuable, and to illustrate, by actual evidence, how great a commendation is due to them who are now my subject, and the greatest part of which they have already received. For the encomiums with which I have celebrated the State have been earned for it by the bravery of these, and of men like these. And such compliments might be thought too high and exaggerated, if passed on any Grecians but them alone. The fatal period to which these gallant souls are now reduced is the surest evidence of their merit — an evidence begun in their lives and completed in their deaths. For it is a debt of justice to pay superior honors to men who have devoted their lives in fighting for their country, though inferior to others in every virtue but that of valor. Their last service effaceth all former demerits, — it extends to the public; their private demeanors reached only to a few. Yet not one of these was at all induced to shrink from danger, through fondness of those delights which the peaceful affluent life bestows, — not one was the less lavish of his life, through that flattering hope attendant upon want, that poverty at length might be exchanged for affluence. One passion there was in their minds much stronger than these, — the desire of vengeance on their enemies. Regarding this as the most honorable prize of dangers, they boldly rushed towards the mark, to glut revenge, and then to satisfy those secondary passions. The uncertain event, they had already secured in hope; what their eyes showed plainly must be done, they trusted their own valor to accomplish, thinking it more glorious to defend themselves and die in the attempt than to yield and live. From the reproach of cowardice, indeed, they fled, but presented their bodies to the shock of battle; when, insensible of fear, but triumphing in hope, in the doubtful charge they instantly dropped — and thus discharged the duty which brave men owe to their country.

As for you, who now survive them, it is your business to pray for a better fate, but to think it your duty also to preserve the same spirit and warmth of courage against your enemies; not judging of the expediency of this from a mere harangue, — where any man indulging a flow of words may tell you, what

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you yourselves know as well as he, how many advantages there are in fighting valiantly against your enemies,—but, rather, making the daily-increasing grandeur of this community the object of your thoughts, and growing quite enamored of it. And when it really appears great to your apprehensions, think again that this grandeur was acquired by brave and valiant men; by men who knew their duty, and in the moments of action were sensible of shame; who, whenever their attempts were unsuccessful, thought it dishonor their country should stand in need of anything their valor could do for it, and so made it the most glorious present. Bestowing thus their lives on the public, they have every one received a praise that will never decay, a sepulchre that will always be most illustrious—not that in which their bones lie moldering, but that in which their frame is preserved, to be on every occasion, when honor is the employ of either word or act, eternally remembered. This whole earth is the sepulchre of illustrious men; nor is it the inscription on the columns in their native soil alone that shows their merit, but the memorial of them, better than all inscriptions, in every foreign nation, reposited more durably in universal remembrance than on their own tombs. From this very moment, emulating these noble patterns, placing your happiness in liberty, and liberty in valor, be prepared to encounter all the dangers of war. For to be lavish of life is not so noble in those whom misfortunes have reduced to misery and despair, as in men who hazard the loss of a comfortable subsistence, and the enjoyment of all the blessings this world affords, by an unsuccessful enterprise. Adversity, after a series of ease and affluence, sinks deeper into the heart of a man of spirit than the stroke of death insensibly received in the vigor of life and public hope.

For this reason, the parents of those who are now gone, whoever of them may be attending here, I do not bewail,—I shall rather comfort. It is well known to what unhappy accidents they were liable from the moment of their birth; and that happiness belongs to men who have reached the most glorious period of life, as these now have who are to you the source of sorrow,—these, whose life hath received its ample measure, happy in its continuance, and equally happy in its conclusion. I know it in truth a difficult task to fix comfort in those breasts which will have frequent remembrances, in seeing the happiness of others, of what they once themselves enjoyed. And sorrow flows not from

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the absence of those good things we have never yet experienced, but from the loss of those to which we have been accustomed. They who are not yet by age exempted from issue should be comforted in the hope of having more. The children yet to be born will be a private benefit to some, in causing them to forget such as no longer are, and will be a double benefit to their country in preventing its desolation and providing for its security. For those persons cannot in common justice be regarded as members of equal value to the public, who have no children to expose to danger for its safety. But you, whose age is already far advanced, compute the greater share of happiness your longer time hath afforded for so much gain, persuaded in yourselves the remainder will be but short, and enlighten that space by the glory gained by these. It is greatness of soul alone that never grows old; nor is it wealth that delights in the latter stage of life, as some give out, so much as honor.

To you, the sons and brothers of the deceased, whatever number of you are here, a field of hardy contention is opened. For him who no longer is, every one is ready to commend, so that to whatever height you push your deserts, you will scarce ever be thought to equal, but to be somewhat inferior to these. Envy will exert itself against a competitor, while life remains; but when death stops the competition, affection will applaud without restraint.

If after this it be expected from me to say anything to you who are now reduced to a state of widowhood, about female virtue, I shall express it all in one short admonition: It is your greatest glory not to be deficient in the virtue peculiar to your sex, and to give men as little handle as possible to talk of your behavior, whether well or ill.

I have now discharged the province allotted me by the laws, and said what I thought most pertinent to this assembly. Our departed friends have by facts been already honored. Their children from this day till they arrive at manhood shall be educated at the public expense of the State which hath appointed so beneficial a meed for these and all future relics of the public contests. For wherever the greatest rewards are proposed for virtue, there the best of patriots are ever to be found. Now let every one respectively indulge becoming grief for his departed friends, and then retire.

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CHARLES PHILLIPS

(*c.* 1787–1859)

CHARLES PHILLIPS, one of O'Connell's most effective supporters in the agitation for Catholic emancipation, was born at Sligo in 1787. After his graduation at Trinity College, Dublin, he made a great reputation at the Irish bar and followed it up by going to London, where he increased it by his speeches in criminal cases. He became the leader of the "Old Bailey Bar," and Christopher North said he was "worth a dozen Shiels." Lord Brougham made him Commissioner of the Bankruptcy Court at Liverpool, and he was afterwards Commissioner of the Insolvent Debtors' Court of London. He died February 1st, 1859.

THE DINAS ISLAND SPEECH ON WASHINGTON

(Delivered at a Dinner Given on Dinas Island, in Lake Killarney, on Mr. Phillips's Health Being Given, Together with that of Mr. Payne, a Young American)

IT IS not with the vain hope of returning by words the kindnesses which have been literally showered on me during the short period of our acquaintance that I now interrupt, for a moment, the flow of your festivity. Indeed, it is not necessary; an Irishman needs no requital for his hospitality; its generous impulse is the instinct of his nature, and the very consciousness of the act carries its recompense along with it. But, sir, there are sensations excited by an allusion in your toast, under the influence of which silence would be impossible. To be associated with Mr. Payne must be, to any one who regards private virtues and personal accomplishments, a source of peculiar pride; and that feeling is not a little enhanced in me by a recollection of the country to which we are indebted for his qualifications. Indeed, the mention of America has never failed to fill me with the most lively emotions. In my earliest infancy, that tender season when impressions, at once the most permanent and the most powerful, are likely to be excited, the story of her then

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recent struggle raised a throb in every heart that loved liberty, and wrung a reluctant tribute even from discomfited oppression. I saw her spurning alike the luxuries that would enervate, and the legions that would intimidate; dashing from her lips the poisoned cup of European servitude, and, through all the vicissitudes of her protracted conflict, displaying a magnanimity that defied misfortune, and a moderation that gave new grace to victory. It was the first vision of my childhood; it will descend with me to the grave. But if, as a man, I venerate the mention of America, what must be my feelings towards her as an Irishman! Never, oh, never! while memory remains, can Ireland forget the home of her emigrant and the asylum of her exile. No matter whether their sorrows sprung from the errors of enthusiasm or the realities of suffering,—from fancy or infliction, that must be reserved for the scrutiny of those whom the lapse of time shall acquit of partiality. It is for the men of other ages to investigate and record it; but surely it is for the men of every age to hail the hospitality that received the shelterless, and love the feeling that befriended the unfortunate. Search creation round; where can you find a country that presents so sublime a view, so interesting an anticipation? What noble institutions! What a comprehensive policy! What a wise equalization of every political advantage! The oppressed of all countries, the martyrs of every creed, the innocent victim of despotic arrogance or superstitious frenzy, may there find refuge; his industry encouraged, his piety respected, his ambition animated; with no restraint but those laws which are the same to all, and no distinction but that which his merit may originate. Who can deny that the existence of such a country presents a subject for human congratulation? Who can deny that its gigantic advancement offers a field for the most rational conjecture? At the end of the very next century, if she proceeds as she seems to promise, what a wondrous spectacle may she not exhibit! Who shall say for what purpose a mysterious Providence may not have designed her? Who shall say that when in its follies or its crimes the Old World may have interred all the pride of its power, and all the pomp of its civilization, human nature may not find its destined renovation in the New? For myself, I have no doubt of it. I have not the least doubt that when our temples and our trophies shall have moldered into dust,—when the glories of our name shall be but the legend of tradition, and the light of our achievements only live

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in song, philosophy will rise again in the sky of her Franklin, and glory rekindle at the urn of her Washington. Is this the vision of romantic fancy? Is it even improbable? Is it half so improbable as the events, which, for the last twenty years have rolled like successive tides over the surface of the European world, each erasing the impressions that preceded it? Thousands upon thousands, sir, I know there are, who will consider this supposition as wild and whimsical; but they have dwelt with little reflection upon the records of the past. They have but ill observed the never-ceasing progress of national rise and national ruin. They form their judgment on the deceitful stability of the present hour, never considering the innumerable monarchies and republics in former days, apparently as permanent, their very existence become now the subjects of speculation,— I had almost said of skepticism. I appeal to history! Tell me, thou reverend chronicler of the grave, Can all the illusions of ambition realized, can all the wealth of a universal commerce, can all the achievements of successful heroism, or all the establishments of this world's wisdom, secure to empire the permanency of its possessions? Alas! Troy thought so once; yet the land of Priam lives only in song! Thebes thought so once; yet her hundred gates have crumbled, and her very tombs are but as the dust they were vainly intended to commemorate! So thought Palmyra— where is she? So thought Persepolis, and now—

> «Yon waste, where roaming lions howl,
> Yon aisle, where moans the gray-eyed owl,
> Shows the proud Persian's great abode,
> Where sceptred once, an earthly god,
> His power-clad arm controlled each happier clime,
> Where sports the warbling muse, and fancy soars sublime.»

So thought the countries of Demosthenes and the Spartan, yet Leonidas's is trampled by the timid slave, and Athens insulted by the servile, mindless, and enervate Ottoman! In his hurried march, Time has but looked at their imagined immortality; and all its vanities, from the palace to the tomb, have, with their ruins, erased the very impression of his footsteps! The days of their glory are as if they had never been; and the island that was then a speck, rude and neglected in the barren ocean, now rivals the ubiquity of their commerce, the glory of their arms,

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the fame of their philosophy, the eloquence of their senate, and the inspiration of their bards! Who shall say, then, contemplating the past, that England, proud and potent as she appears, may not one day be what Athens is, and the young America yet soar to be what Athens was! Who shall say, when the European column shall have moldered, and the night of barbarism obscured its very ruins, that that mighty continent may not emerge from the horizon, to rule, for its time, sovereign of the ascendant!

Such, sir, is the natural progress of human operations, and such the unsubstantial mockery of human pride. But I should, perhaps, apologize for this digression. The tombs are, at best, a sad, although an instructive, subject. At all events, they are ill suited to such an hour as this. I shall endeavor to atone for it, by turning to a theme which tombs cannot inurn, or revolution alter. It is the custom of your board, and a noble one it is, to deck the cup of the gay with the garland of the great; and surely, even in the eyes of its deity, his grape is not the less lovely when glowing beneath the foliage of the palm tree and the myrtle. Allow me to add one flower to the chaplet, which, though it sprang in America, is no exotic. Virtue planted it, and it is naturalized everywhere. I see you anticipate me — I see you concur with me, that it matters very little what immediate spot may be the birthplace of such a man as Washington. No people can claim, no country can appropriate him; the boon of Providence to the human race, his fame is eternity and his residence creation. Though it was the defeat of our arms, and the disgrace of our policy, I almost bless the convulsion in which he had his origin. If the heavens thundered and the earth rocked, yet, when the storm passed, how pure was the climate that it cleared; how bright in the brow of the firmament was the planet which it revealed to us! In the production of Washington, it does really appear as if nature were endeavoring to improve upon herself, and that all the virtues of the ancient world were but so many studies preparatory to the patriot of the new. Individual instances no doubt there were; splendid exemplifications of some single qualification. Cæsar was merciful, Scipio was continent, Hannibal was patient; but it was reserved for Washington to blend them all in one, and, like the lovely *chef d'œuvre* of the Grecian artist, to exhibit in one glow of associated beauty the pride of every model and the perfection of every master. As

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a general, he marshaled the peasant into a veteran, and supplied by discipline the absence of experience; as a statesman, he enlarged the policy of the cabinet into the most comprehensive system of general advantage; and such was the wisdom of his views, and the philosophy of his counsels, that to the soldier and the statesman he almost added the character of the sage! A conqueror, he was untainted with the crime of blood; a revolutionist, he was free from any stain of treason; for aggression commenced the contest, and his country called him to the command. Liberty unsheathed his sword, necessity stained, victory returned it. If he had paused here, history might have doubted what station to assign him, whether at the head of her citizens or her soldiers, her heroes or her patriots. But the last glorious act crowns his career and banishes all hesitation. Who, like Washington, after having emancipated a hemisphere, resigned its crown, and preferred the retirement of domestic life to the adoration of a land he might be almost said to have created?

> "How shall we rank thee upon glory's page,
> Thou more than soldier, and just less than sage?
> All thou hast been reflects less fame on thee,
> Far less than all thou hast forborne to be!"

Such, sir, is the testimony of one not to be accused of partiality in his estimate of America. Happy, proud America! the lightnings of heaven yielded to your philosophy! The temptations of earth could not seduce your patriotism!

I have the honor, sir, of proposing to you as a toast,

"The immortal memory of George Washington."

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WENDELL PHILLIPS

(1811–1884)

IT IS said that when Wendell Phillips began the delivery of one of those speeches which often so completely controlled what at the beginning had been unfriendly audiences, he disappointed all expectations of eloquence by his manner. "You are looking for a man who is all art and thunder," writes one of his critics; "Lo, a quiet man glides on the platform and begins talking in a simple, easy, conversational way. Presently he makes you smile at some happy turn, then he startles you by a rapier-like thrust,—then electrifies you by a grand outburst of feeling! You listen, believe, applaud. And that is Wendell Phillips. That also is oratory,—to produce the greatest effects by the simplest means."

Phillips, the most talented of the Abolition orators, was born in Boston, November 29th, 1811. Educated at Harvard, he began the practice of law in 1834, but his reputation is based entirely on his work as an orator and agitator. From 1837 until 1861 his great ability and remarkable eloquence operated to accentuate the forces which rendered compromise ineffectual and civil war inevitable. After the close of the war he advocated Woman Suffrage and various labor reforms. In 1870 the Labor Party and Prohibitionists nominated him as their candidate for Governor of Massachusetts, but, though generally admired for his brilliancy, he was not elected. He died February 2d, 1884.

JOHN BROWN AND THE SPIRIT OF FIFTY-NINE

(Delivered in Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, New York, in November 1859)

I BELIEVE in moral suasion. I believe the age of bullets is over. I believe the age of ideas is come. I think that is the preaching of our country. The old Hindoo dreamed, you know, that he saw the human race led out to its varied fortune. First, he saw men bitted and curbed, and the reins went back to an iron hand. But his dream changed on and on, until at last he saw men led by reins that came from the brain, and went back into

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an unseen hand. It was the type of governments: the first a government of despotism, palpable iron; and the last our government,—a government of brains, a government of ideas. I believe in it—in public opinion.

Yet, let me say, in passing, that I think you can make a better use of iron than forging it into chains. If you must have the metal, put it into Sharpe's rifles. It is a great deal better used that way than in fetters—a great deal better used than in a clumsy statue of a mock great man, for hypocrites to kneel down and worship in a Statehouse yard. [Hisses.] I am so unused to hisses lately that I have forgotten what I had to say. I only know I meant what I did say.

My idea is, public opinion, literature, education, as governing elements.

But some men seem to think that our institutions are necessarily safe because we have free schools and cheap books and a public opinion that controls. But that is no evidence of safety. India and China have had schools, and a school system almost identical with that of Massachusetts, for fifteen hundred years. And books are as cheap in central and northern Asia as they are in New York. But they have not secured liberty, nor secured a controlling public opinion to either nation. Spain for three centuries had municipalities and town governments, as independent and self-supporting, and as representative of thought as New England or New York has. But that did not save Spain. De Tocqueville says that fifty years before the great revolution, public opinion was as omnipotent in France as it is to-day, but it did not save France. You cannot save men by machinery. What India and France and Spain wanted was live men, and that is what we want to-day; men who are willing to look their own destiny and their own functions and their own responsibilities in the face. "Grant me to see, and Ajax wants no more," was the prayer the great poet put into the lips of his hero in the darkness that overspread the Grecian camp. All we want of American citizens is the opening of their own eyes, and seeing things as they are. To the intelligent, thoughtful, and determined gaze of twenty millions of Christian people there is nothing—no institution wicked and powerful enough to be capable of standing against it. In Keats's beautiful poem of 'Lamia,' a young man had been led captive by a phantom girl, and was the slave of her beauty until the old teacher came in and fixed

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his thoughtful eye upon the figure, and it vanished, and the pupil started up himself again!

You see the great Commonwealth of Virginia fitly represented by a pyramid standing upon its apex. A Connecticut-born man entered at one corner of her dominions, and fixed his cold gray eye upon the government of Virginia, and it almost vanished in his very gaze. For it seems that Virginia asked leave "to be" of John Brown at Harper's Ferry. Connecticut has sent out many a schoolmaster to the other thirty States; but never before so grand a teacher as that Litchfield-born schoolmaster at Harper's Ferry, writing upon the Natural Bridge in the face of nations his simple copy: "Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God."

I said that the lesson of the hour was insurrection. I ought not to apply that word to John Brown, of Ossawatomie, for there was no insurrection in his case. It is a great mistake to call him an insurgent. This principle that I have endeavored so briefly to open to you, of absolute right and wrong, states what? Just this: "Commonwealth of Virginia!" There is no such thing. No civil society, no government can exist, except on the basis of the willing submission of all its citizens, and by the performance of the duty of rendering equal justice between man and man.

Everything that calls itself a government, and refuses that duty, or has not that assent, is no government. It is only a pirate ship. Virginia, the Commonwealth of Virginia! She is only a chronic insurrection. I mean exactly what I say. I am weighing my words now. She is a pirate ship, and John Brown sails the sea a Lord High Admiral of the Almighty, with his commission to sink every pirate he meets on God's ocean of the nineteenth century. I mean literally and exactly what I say. In God's world there are no majorities, no minorities; one, on God's side, is a majority. You have often heard that here, doubtless, and I need not tell you its ground in morals. The rights of that one man are as sacred as those of the miscalled Commonwealth of Virginia. Virginia is only another Algiers. The barbarous horde who gag each other, imprison women for teaching children to read, prohibit the Bible, sell men on the auction blocks, abolish marriage, condemn half their women to prostitution, and devote themselves to the breeding of human beings for sale, is only a larger and blacker Algiers. The only prayer of a true man for such is: "Gracious heaven! unless they repent, send soon their

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Exmouth and Decatur." John Brown has twice as much right to hang Governor Wise as Governor Wise has to hang him. You see I am talking of that absolute essence of things that lives in the sight of the Eternal and the Infinite; not as men judge it in the rotten morals of the nineteenth century, among a herd of States that calls itself an empire, because it weaves cotton and sells slaves. What I say is this: Harper's Ferry was the only government in that vicinity. Respecting the trial, Virginia, true to herself, has shown exactly the same haste that the pirate does when he tries a man on deck and runs him up to the yardarm. Unconsciously, she is consistent. Now, you do not think this to-day, some of you, perhaps. But I tell you what absolute history shall judge of these forms and phantoms of ours. John Brown began his life, his active life, in Kansas. The South planted that seed; it reaps the first fruit now.

Twelve years ago the great men in Washington, the Websters and the Clays, planted the Mexican War; and they reaped their appropriate fruit in General Taylor and General Pierce pushing them from their statesmen's stools. The South planted the seeds of violence in Kansas, and taught peaceful Northern men familiarity with bowie knife and revolver. They planted nine hundred and ninety-nine seeds, and this is the first one that has flowered; this is the first drop of the coming shower. People do me the honor to say, in some of the Western papers, that this is traceable to some teachings of mine. It is too much honor to such as I am. Gladly, if it were not fulsome vanity, would I clutch this laurel of having any share in the great resolute daring of that man who flung himself against an empire in behalf of justice and liberty. They were not the bravest men who fought at Saratoga and Yorktown in the war of 1776. Oh, no! It was rather those who flung themselves, at Lexington, few and feeble, against the embattled ranks of an empire, till then thought irresistible. Elderly men in powdered wigs and red velvet smoothed their ruffles, and cried: "Madmen!" Full-fed customhouse men said: "A pistol shot against Gibraltar!" But Captain Ingraham, under the Stars and Stripes, dictating terms to the fleet of the Cæsars, was only the echo of that Lexington gun. Harper's Ferry is the Lexington of to-day. Up to this moment Brown's life has been one unmixed success. Prudence, skill, courage, thrift, knowledge of his time, knowledge of his opponents, undaunted daring in the face of the nation — he had all these. He was the

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man who could leave Kansas, and go into Missouri, and take eleven men and give them liberty, and bring them off on the horses which he carried with him,—two of which he took as tribute from their masters, in order to facilitate escape. Then, when he had passed his human protégés from the vulture of the United States to the safe shelter of the English lion, this is the brave, frank, and sublime truster in God's right and absolute justice, that entered his name in the city of Cleveland, "John Brown, of Kansas," and advertised there two horses for sale, and stood in front of the auctioneer's stand, notifying all bidders of the defect in the title. But he added with nonchalance, when he told the story: "They brought a very excellent price." This is the man who, in the face of the nation, avowing his right, and endeavoring by what strength he had in behalf of the wronged, goes down to Harper's Ferry to follow up his work. Well, men say he failed. Every man has his Moscow. Suppose he did fail, —every man meets his Waterloo at last. There are two kinds of defeat. Whether in chains or in laurels, Liberty knows nothing but victories. Bunker Hill, soldiers call a defeat! But Liberty dates from it, though Warren lay dead on the field. Men say the attempt did not succeed. No man can command success. Whether it was well planned, and deserved to succeed, we shall be able to decide when Brown is free to tell us all he knows. Suppose he did fail, he has done a great deal still. Why, this is a decent country to live in now. Actually, in this Sodom of ours, seventeen men have been found ready to die for an idea. God be thanked for John Brown, that he has discovered or created them. I should feel some pride if I were in Europe now in confessing that I was an American. We have redeemed the long infamy of twenty years of subservience. But look back a bit. Is there anything new about this? Nothing at all. It is the natural result of antislavery teaching. For one, I accept it; I expected it. I cannot say that I prayed for it; I cannot say that I hoped for it; but at the same time no sane man has looked upon this matter for twenty years and supposed that we could go through this great moral convulsion, the great classes of society clashing and jostling against each other like frigates in a storm, and that there would not be such scenes as these.

Why, in 1835 it was the other way. Then it was my bull that gored your ox. Their ideas came in conflict, and men of violence, and men who had not made up their minds to wait for

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the slow conversion of conscience, men who trusted in their own right hands, men who believed in bowie knives — why, such sacked the city of Philadelphia, such made New York to be governed by a mob; Boston saw its mayor suppliant and kneeling to the chief of broadcloth in broad daylight. It was all on that side. The natural result, the first result of this starting of ideas, is like people who get half-awaked and use the first weapons that appear to them. The first developing and unfolding of national life were the mobs of 1835. People said it served us right; we had no right to the luxury of speaking our own minds; it was too expensive; these lavish, luxurious persons walking about here and actually saying what they think! Why, it was like speaking aloud in the midst of avalanches. To say "Liberty" in a loud tone, the Constitution of 1789 might come down — it would not do. But now things have changed. We have been talking thirty years. Twenty years we have talked everywhere, under all circumstances; we have been mobbed out of great cities and pelted out of little ones; we have been abused by great men and by little papers. What is the result? The tables have been turned; it is your bull that has gored my ox, now. And men that still believe in violence, the five points of whose faith are the fist, the bowie knife, fire, poison, and the pistol, are ranged on the side of Liberty, and, unwilling to wait for the slow but sure steps of thought, lay on God's altar the best they have. You cannot expect to put a real Puritan Presbyterian, as John Brown is, — a regular Cromwellian dug up from two centuries ago, — in the midst of our New England civilization, that dares not say its soul is its own, nor proclaim that it is wrong to sell a man at auction, and not have him show himself as he is. Put a hound in the presence of a deer, and he springs at his throat if he is a true bloodhound. Put a Christian in the presence of sin, and he will spring at its throat if he is a true Christian. And so into an acid we might throw white matter, but unless it is chalk it will not produce agitation. So if in a world of sinners you were to put American Christianity, it would be calm as oil; but put one Christian like John Brown, of Ossawatomie, and he makes the whole crystallize into right and wrong, and marshal themselves on one side or the other. And God makes him the text, and all he asks of our comparatively cowardly lips is to preach the sermon and to say to the American people that, whether that old man succeeded in a worldly sense or not, he stood a

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representative of law, of government, of right, of justice, of religion, and they were pirates that gathered around him and sought to wreak vengeance by taking his life. The banks of the Potomac are doubly dear now to history and to man! The dust of Washington rests there; and history will see forever on that riverside the brave old man on his pallet, whose dust, when God calls him hence, the Father of his Country would be proud to make room for beside his own. But if Virginia tyrants dare hang him, after this mockery of a trial, it will take two more Washingtons at least to make the name of the State anything but abominable to the ages that come after. Well, I say what I really think. George Washington was a great man. Yes, I say what I really think. And I know, ladies and gentlemen, that, educated as you have been by the experience of the last ten years here, you would have thought me the silliest as well as the most cowardly man in the world if I should have come, with my twenty years behind me, and talked about anything else to-night except that great example which one man has set us on the banks of the Potomac. You expected, of course, that I should tell you my opinion of it.

I value this element that Brown has introduced into American politics for another reason. The South is a great power. There are no cowards in Virginia. It was not cowardice. Now, I try to speak very plainly, but you will misunderstand me. There is no cowardice in Virginia. The people of the South are not cowards. The lunatics in the Gospel were not cowards when they said: "Art thou come to torment us before the time?" They were brave enough, but they saw afar off. They saw the tremendous power that was entering into that charmed circle; they knew its inevitable victory. Virginia did not tremble at an old gray-headed man at Harper's Ferry; they trembled at a John Brown in every man's own conscience. He had been there many years, and, like that terrific scene which Beckford has drawn for us in his Hall of Eblis, where all ran round, each man with an incurable wound in his bosom, and agreed not to speak of it, so the South has been running up and down its political and social life, and every man keeps his right hand pressed on the secret and incurable sore, with an understood agreement, in Church and State, that it never shall be mentioned for fear the great ghastly fabric shall come to pieces at the talismanic word. Brown uttered it, and the whole machinery trembled to its very base.

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I value that moment. Did you ever see a blacksmith shoe a restless horse? If you have, you have seen him take a small cord and tie the horse's upper lip. If you ask him what he does it for, he will tell you he does it to give the beast something to think of. Now, the South has extensive schemes. She grasps with one hand at Mexico, and with the other dictates terms to the Church. She imposes conditions on the United States. She buys up Webster with a little, and Everett with nothing. John Brown has given her something else to think of. He has turned her attention inwardly. He has taught her that there has been created a new element in this Northern mind; that it is not merely the thinker, that it is not merely the editor, that it is not merely the moral reformer, but the idea has pervaded all classes of society. Call them madmen, if you will. It is hard to tell who's mad. The world says one man is mad. John Brown said the same of the Governor. You remember the madman in Edinburgh; a friend asked him what he was there for. "Well," said he, "they said at home that I was mad, and I said I was not, but they had the majority." Just so it is in regard to John Brown. The nation says he is mad. I appeal from Philip drunk to Philip sober; I appeal from the American people drunk with cotton and the utterances of the New York Observer to the American people fifty years hence, when the light of civilization has had more time to penetrate; when self-interest has been rebuked by the world rising and giving its verdict on these great questions; when it is not a small band of Abolitionists, but the civilization of the nineteenth century, that undertakes to enter the arena and discuss its last great reform. When that day comes, what shall be thought of these first martyrs who teach us how to live and how to die?

Suppose John Brown had not stayed at Harper's Ferry. Suppose on that momentous Monday night, when the excited imaginations of two thousand Charleston people had enlarged him and his little band into four hundred white men and two hundred blacks, he had vanished, and when the gallant troops arrived there, two thousand strong, they had found nobody! The mountains would have been peopled with enemies; the Alleghanies would have heaved with insurrection. You never would have convinced Virginia that all Pennsylvania was not armed and on the hills. Virginia has not slept soundly since Nat Turner had an insurrection in 1831, and she bids fair never to have a nap

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now. For this is not an insurrection; this is the penetration of a different element. Mark you, it is not the oppressed race rising. Recollect history. There never was a race held in chains that absolutely vindicated its own liberty, but one. There never was a serf nor a slave whose own sword cut off his own chain, but one. Blue-eyed, light-haired Anglo-Saxons, it was not our race. We were serfs for three centuries, and we waited till commerce and Christianity and a different law had melted our fetters. We were crowded down into a villenage which crushed out our manhood so thoroughly that we hadn't vigor enough to redeem ourselves. Neither did France, neither did Spain, neither did the Northern nor the Southern races of Europe have that bright spot on their escutcheon,—that they put an end to their slavery. Blue-eyed, haughty, contemptuous Anglo-Saxons, it was the black,—the only race in the record of history that ever, after a century of oppression, retained the vigor to write the charter of its emancipation with its own hand in the blood of the dominant race. Despised, culumniated, slandered San Domingo is the only instance in history where a race, with indestructible love of justice, serving a hundred years of oppression, rose up under their own leader and with their own hands abolished slavery on their own soil. Wait, garrulous, vainglorious, boasting Saxon, till we have done as much before we talk of the cowardice of the black race.

The slaves of our country have not risen; but, as in all other cases, redemption will come from the interference of a wiser, higher, more advanced civilization on its exterior. It is the universal record of history, and ours is the repetition of the same scene in the drama. We have awakened at last the enthusiasm of both classes—those that act from impulse and those that act from calculation. It is a libel on the Yankee to assert that it includes the whole race, when you say that if you put a dollar on the other side of hell, the Yankee will spring for it at any risk; for there is an element even in Yankee blood that obeys ideas—there is an impulsive, enthusiastic aspiration—something left to us from the old Puritan stock—that which made England what she was two centuries ago—that which is fated to give the closest grapple with the slave power to-day. This is an invasion by outside power. Civilization in 1600 crept along our shores, now planting her foot, then retreating—now gaining a foothold, and then receding before barbarism—till at last came Jamestown

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and Plymouth, then thirty States. Harper's Ferry is, perhaps, one of Raleigh's or Goswold's colonies, vanishing and to be swept away. Bye and bye will come the immortal One Hundred and Plymouth Rock, with "Manifest Destiny" written by God's hand on their banner, and the right of unlimited "Annexation" granted by heaven itself.

It is the lesson of the age. The first cropping out of it is in such a man as John Brown. He did not measure his means; he was not thrifty as to his method; he did not calculate closely enough, and he was defeated. What is defeat? Nothing but education — nothing but the first step to something better. All that is wanted is that this public opinion shall not creep around like a servile coward, and unbought, but corrupt, disordered, insane public opinion proclaim that Governor Wise, because he says he is a Governor, is a Governor, that Virginia is a State because she says so.

Thank God I am not a citizen. You will remember, all of you, citizens of the United States, that there was not a Virginia gun fired at John Brown. Hundreds of well-armed Maryland and Virginia troops that went there never dared to pull a trigger. You shot him! Sixteen marines, to whom you pay eight dollars a month — your own representatives! When the disturbed State could not stand on her own legs for trembling, you went there and strengthened the feeble knees and held up the palsied hand. Sixteen men with the vulture of the Union above them — your representatives! It was the covenant with death and agreement with hell, which you call the Union of thirty States, that took the old man by the throat with a pirate hand; and it will be the disgrace of our civilization if a gallows is ever erected in Virginia that bears his body. "The most resolute man I ever saw," says Governor Wise, "the most daring, the coolest. I would trust his truth about any question." The sincerest! Sincerity, courage, resolute daring! Virginia has nothing, nothing for those qualities but a scaffold! In her broad dominion she can only afford him six feet for a grave! God help the Commonweath that bids such welcome to the noblest qualities that can grace poor human nature! Yet that is the acknowledgment of Governor Wise himself.

They say it costs the officers and persons in responsible positions more effort to keep hundreds of startled soldiers from shooting the five prisoners sixteen marines had made than it cost those marines to take the armory itself. Soldiers and civilians —

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both alike — only a mob fancying itself a government! And mark you, I have said they were not a government. They not only are not a government, but they have not even the remotest idea of what a government is. They do not begin to have the faintest conception of what a civilized government is. Here is a man arraigned before a jury, or about to be. The State of Virginia, as she calls herself, is about to try him. The first step in that trial is a jury; the second is a judge; and at the head stands the Chief Executive of the State, who is to put his hand to the death warrant before it can be executed; and yet that very Executive, who, according to the principles of the sublimest chapter in Algernon Sidney's immortal book, is bound by the very responsibility that rests on him to keep his mind impartial as to the guilt of the person arraigned, hastens down to Richmond, hurries down to the platform, and proclaims to the assembled Commonwealth of Virginia: "The man is a murderer and ought to be hanged." Almost every lip in the State might have said it, except that single lip of its Governor; and the moment he had uttered these words, in the theory of the English law, it was not possible to impanel an impartial jury in the Commonwealth of Virginia; it was not possible to get the materials and the machinery to try him according to even the ugliest pattern of English jurisprudence. And yet the Governor does not know that he has written himself down a *non compos!* And the Commonwealth that he governs supposes that it is still a Christian polity! They have not the faintest conception of what goes to make up government. The worst Jeffries that ever, in his most drunken hour, climbed up a lamp-post in the streets of London would not have tried a man who could not stand on his feet. There is no such record in the blackest roll of tyranny. If Jeffries could speak, he would thank God that at last his name might be taken down from the gibbet of history, since the Virginia bench has made his worst act white, set against the blackness of this modern infamy. And yet the New York press daily prints the accounts of the trial. Trial! The inquisition used to break every other bone in a man's body, and then lay him on a pallet, giving him neither counsel nor opportunity to consult one, and then wring from his tortured mouth something like a confession, and call it a trial! But it was heaven-robed innocence compared with the trial, or what the New York press call so, that has been going on in startled, frightened Charleston. I speak what I know,

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and I speak what is but the breath and whisper of the summer breezes compared with the tornado of rebuke that will come back from the press of Great Britain, when they hear that we affect to call that a jury trial, and blacken the names of judge and jury by baptizing these pirate orgies with such honorable appellations.

I wish I could say anything worthy of the great deed which has taken place in our day,—the opening of the sixth seal, the pouring out of the last vial but one on a corrupt and giant institution. I know that many men will deem me a fanatic for uttering this wholesale vituperation, as it will be called, upon a State, and this indorsement of a madman. I can only say that I have spoken on this antislavery question before the American people twenty years; that I have seen the day when this same phase of popular opinion was on the other side. You remember the first time I was ever privileged to stand on this platform by the magnanimous generosity of your clergymen, when New York was about to bully and crush out the freedom of speech at the dictation of Captain Rynders. From that day to this, the same braving of public thought has been going on from here to Kansas, until it bloomed in the events of the last three years. It has changed the whole face of the sentiment in these Northern States. You meet with the evidence of it everywhere. When the first news of Harper's Ferry came to Massachusetts, if you were riding in the cars, if you were walking in the streets, if you met a Democrat, or a Whig, or a Republican, no matter what his politics, it was a singular circumstance that he did not speak of the guilt of Brown, of the atrocity of the deed, as you might have expected. The first impulsive expression, the first outbreak of every man's words was: "What a pity he did not succeed! What a fool he was for not going off Monday, when he had all he wanted! How strange he did not take his victory and march away with it!" It indicated the unconscious leavening of a sympathy with the attempt. Days followed on; they commenced what they called their trial; you met the same classes again;—no man said he ought to be hanged; no man said he was guilty; no man predicated anything of his moral position;—every man voluntarily and inevitably seemed to give vent to his indignation at the farce of a trial,—indicative again of that unheeded, unconscious, potent, but widespread sympathy on the side of Brown.

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Do you suppose that these things mean nothing? What the tender and poetic youth dreams to-day, and conjures up with inarticulate speech, is to-morrow the vociferated result of public opinion, and the day after is the charter of nations. The sentiments we raise to intellect, and from intellect to character, the American people have begun to feel. The mute eloquence of the fugitive slave has gone up and down the highways and byways of the country; it will annex itself to the great American heart of the North, even in the most fossil state of its "hunkerism," as a latent sympathy with its right side. This blow, like the first blow at Lexington, heard around the world — this blow at Harper's Ferry reveals men. Watch those about you, and you will see more of the temper and unheeded purpose and real moral position of men than you would imagine. This is the way nations are to be judged. Be not in a hurry; it will come soon enough from this sentiment. We stereotype feeling into intellect, and then into statutes, and finally into national character. We have got the first stage of growth. Nature's live growths crowd out and rive dead matter. Ideas strangle statutes. Pulse-beats wear down granite, whether piled in jails or capitols. The people's hearts are the only title deeds, after all. Your barnburners said: "Patroon titles are unrighteous!" Judges replied: "Such is the law." Wealth shrieked: "Vested rights!" Parties talked of Constitutions — still the people said: "Sin!" They shot a sheriff — a parrot press cried: "Anarchy!" Lawyers growled: "Murder!" Still, nobody was hanged, if I recollect aright. To-day the heart of the Barnburner beats in the statute book of your State. John Brown's movement against slavery is exactly the same. Wait awhile, and you'll all agree with me. What is fanaticism to-day is the fashionable creed to-morrow, and trite as the multiplication table a week after.

John Brown has stirred omnipotent pulses — Lydia Maria Child's is one. She says: "That dungeon is the place for me," and writes a letter in magnanimous appeal to the better nature of Governor Wise. She says in it: "John Brown is a hero; he has done a noble deed. I think he was all right; but he is sick; he is wounded; he wants a woman's nursing. I am an Abolitionist; I have been so thirty years. I think slavery is a sin, and John Brown a saint; but I want to come and nurse him; and I pledge my word that if you will open his prison door, I will use the privilege, under sacred honor, only to nurse him. I inclose you

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a message to Brown; be sure and deliver it.» And the message was: «Old man, God bless you! You have struck a noble blow; you have done a mighty work; God was with you; your heart was in the right place. I send you across five hundred miles the pulse of a woman's gratitude.» And Governor Wise has opened the door, and announced to the world that she may go in. John Brown has conquered the pirate. Hope! there is hope everywhere. It is only the universal history:—

«Right forever on the scaffold, Wrong forever on the throne;
But that scaffold sways the future, and behind the dim unknown
Standeth God within the shadow, keeping watch above his own.»

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WILLIAM PINKNEY

(1764–1822)

WILLIAM PINKNEY, of Maryland, whose speech on the admission of Missouri, with a clause prohibiting slavery, contributed to bring about the first Missouri Compromise, was born at Annapolis, March 17th, 1764. Between 1806 and 1822 he was successively Minister to Great Britain, Attorney General of the United States, Member of Congress, Minister to Naples, Minister to Russia, and United States Senator. He died February 25th, 1822.

ON THE FIRST ISSUES OF CIVIL WAR

(Exordium of the Speech Delivered in the United States Senate, February 15th, 1820, on a Bill for the Admission of Missouri into the Union, with a Clause Prohibiting the Introduction of Slaves)

As I am not a very frequent speaker in this assembly, and have shown a desire, I trust, rather to listen to the wisdom of others than to lay claim to superior knowledge by undertaking to advise, even when advice, by being seasonable in point of time, might have some chance of being profitable, you will, perhaps, bear with me if I venture to trouble you once more on that eternal subject which has lingered here, until all its natural interest is exhausted, and every topic connected with it is literally worn to tatters. I shall, I assure you, sir, speak with laudable brevity, not merely on account of the feeble state of my health, and from some reverence for the laws of good taste which forbid me to speak otherwise, but also from a sense of justice to those who honor me with their attention. My single purpose, as I suggested yesterday, is to subject to a friendly, yet close examination, some portions of a speech, imposing, certainly, on account of the distinguished quarter from whence it came — not very imposing (if I may so say, without departing from that respect which I sincerely feel and intend to manifest for eminent abilities and long experience) for any other reason.

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I believe, Mr. President, that I am about as likely to retract an opinion which I have formed as any member of this body, who, being a lover of truth, inquires after it with diligence before he imagines that he has found it; but I suspect that we are all of us so constituted as that neither argument nor declamation, leveled against recorded and published decision, can easily discover a practicable avenue through which it may hope to reach either our heads or our hearts. I mention this, lest it may excite surprise when I take the liberty to add that the speech of the honorable gentleman from New York upon the great subject with which it was principally occupied has left me as great an infidel as it found me. It is possible, indeed, that if I had had the good fortune to hear that speech at an earlier stage of this debate, when all was fresh and new, although I feel confident that the analysis which it contained of the Constitution, illustrated as it was by historical anecdote rather than by reasoning, would have been just as unsatisfactory to me then as it is now, I might not have been altogether unmoved by those warnings of approaching evil which it seemed to intimate, especially when taken in connection with the observations of the same honorable gentleman on a preceding day, "that delays in disposing of this subject, in the manner he desires, are dangerous, and that we stand on slippery ground." I must be permitted, however (speaking only for myself), to say that the hour of dismay is passed. I have heard the tones of the larum bell on all sides, until they have become familiar to my ear, and have lost their power to appall, if, indeed, they ever possessed it. Notwithstanding occasional appearances of rather an unfavorable description, I have long since persuaded myself that the Missouri question, as it is called, might be laid to rest, with innocence and safety, by some conciliatory compromise at least, by which, as is our duty, we might reconcile the extremes of conflicting views and feelings, without any sacrifice of constitutional principles; and in any event, that the Union would easily and triumphantly emerge from those portentous clouds with which this controversy is supposed to have environed it.

I confess to you, nevertheless, that some of the principles announced by the honorable gentleman from New York, with an explicitness that reflected the highest credit on his candor, did, when they were first presented, startle me not a little. They

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were not perhaps entirely new. Perhaps I had seen them before in some shadowy and doubtful shape,—

> "If shape it might be called, that shape had none,
> Distinguishable in member, joint, or limb."

But in the honorable gentleman's speech they were shadowy and doubtful no longer. He exhibited them in forms so boldly and accurately defined, with contours so distinctly traced, with features so pronounced and striking, that I was unconscious for a moment that they might be old acquaintances. I received them as *novi hospites* within these walls, and gazed upon them with astonishment and alarm. I have recovered, however, thank God, from this paroxysm of terror, although not from that of astonishment. I have sought and found tranquillity and courage in my former consolatory faith. My reliance is that these principles will obtain no general currency; for, if they should, it requires no gloomy imagination to sadden the perspective of the future. My reliance is upon the unsophisticated good sense and noble spirit of the American people. I have what I may be allowed to call a proud and patriotic trust, that they will give no countenance to principles, which, if followed out to their obvious consequences, will not only shake the goodly fabric of the Union to its foundations, but reduce it to a melancholy ruin. The people of this country, if I do not wholly mistake their character, are wise as well as virtuous. They know the value of that federal association which is to them the single pledge and guarantee of power and peace. Their warm and pious affections will cling to it as to their only hope of prosperity and happiness, in defiance of pernicious abstractions, by whomsoever inculcated, or howsoever seductive or alluring in their aspect. . . .

The clause of the Constitution which relates to the admission of new States is in these words: "The Congress may admit new States into this Union," etc., and the advocates for restriction maintain that the use of the word "may" imports discretion to admit or to reject; and that in this discretion is wrapped up another — that of prescribing the terms and conditions of admission in case you are willing to admit: *Cujus est dare ejus est disponere.* I will not for the present inquire whether this involved discretion to dictate the terms of admission belongs to you or not. It is fit that I should first look to the nature and extent of it.

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I think I may assume that if such a power be anything but nominal, it is much more than adequate to the present object — that it is a power of vast expansion, to which human sagacity can assign no reasonable limits — that it is a capacious reservoir of authority, from which you may take, in all time to come, as occasion may serve, the means of oppression as well as of benefaction. I know that it professes at this moment to be the chosen instrument of protecting mercy, and would win upon us by its benignant smiles; but I know, too, it can frown, and play the tyrant, if it be so disposed. Notwithstanding the softness which it now assumes, and the care with which it conceals its giant proportions beneath the deceitful drapery of sentiment, when it next appears before you it may show itself with a sterner countenance and in more awful dimensions. It is, to speak the truth, sir, a power of colossal size — if, indeed, it be not an abuse of language to call it by the gentle name of a power. Sir, it is a wilderness of powers, of which fancy in her happiest mood is unable to perceive the far distant and shadowy boundary. Armed with such a power, with religion in one hand and philanthropy in the other, and followed with a goodly train of public and private virtues, you may achieve more conquests over sovereignties not your own than falls to the common lot of even uncommon ambition. By the aid of such a power, skillfully employed, you may "bridge your way" over the Hellespont that separates State legislation from that of Congress; and you may do so for pretty much the same purpose with which Xerxes once bridged his way across the Hellespont that separates Asia from Europe. He did so, in the language of Milton, "the liberties of Greece to yoke." You may do so for the analogous purpose of subjugating and reducing the sovereignties of States, as your taste or convenience may suggest, and fashioning them to your imperial will. There are those in this House who appear to think, and I doubt not sincerely, that the particular restraint now under consideration is wise, and benevolent, and good; wise as respects the Union — good as respects Missouri — benevolent as respects the unhappy victims whom with a novel kindness it would incarcerate in the South, and bless by decay and extirpation. Let all such beware, lest in their desire for the effect which they believe the restriction will produce, they are too easily satisfied that they have the right to impose it. The moral beauty of the present purpose, or even its political recommenda-

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tions (whatever they may be), can do nothing for a power like this, which claims to prescribe conditions *ad libitum* and to be competent to this purpose, because it is competent to all. This restriction, if it be not smothered in its birth, will be but a small part of the progeny of that prolific power. It teems with a mighty brood, of which this may be entitled to the distinction of comeliness as well as of primogeniture. The rest may want the boasted loveliness of their predecessor, and be even uglier than "Lapland witches."

Perhaps, sir, you will permit me to remind you that it is almost always in company with those considerations that interest the heart in some way or other, that encroachment steals into the world. A bad purpose throws no veil over the licenses of power. It leaves them to be seen as they are. It affords them no protection from the inquiring eye of jealousy. The danger is when a tremendous discretion like the present is attempted to be assumed, as on this occasion, in the names of pity, of religion, of national honor and national prosperity; when encroachment tricks itself out in the robes of piety, or humanity, or addresses itself to pride of country, with all its kindred passions and motives. It is then that the guardians of the Constitution are apt to slumber on their watch, or, if awake, to mistake for lawful rule some pernicious arrogation of power. . . .

I shall not, I am sure, be told that I exaggerate this power. It has been admitted here and elsewhere that I do not. But I want no such concession. It is manifest that as a discretionary power it is everything or nothing — that its head is in the clouds, or that it is a mere figment of enthusiastic speculation — that it has no existence, or that it is an alarming vortex ready to swallow up all such portions of the sovereignty of an infant State as you may think fit to cast into it as preparatory to the introduction into the Union of the miserable residue. No man can contradict me when I say that if you have this power, you may squeeze down a newborn sovereign State to the size of a pigmy, and then, taking it between finger and thumb, stick it into some niche of the Union, and still continue by way of mockery to call it a State in the sense of the Constitution. You may waste it to a shadow, and then introduce it into the society of flesh and blood an object of scorn and derision. You may sweat and reduce it to a thing of skin and bone, and then place the ominous skeleton beside the ruddy and healthful members of the Union,

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that it may have leisure to mourn the lamentable difference between itself and its companions, to brood over its disastrous promotion, and to seek in justifiable discontent an opportunity for separation and insurrection and rebellion. What may you not do by dexterity and perseverance with this terrific power? You may give to a new State, in the form of terms which it cannot refuse (as I shall show you hereafter), a statute book of a thousand volumes — providing not for ordinary cases only, but even for possibilities; you may lay the yoke, no matter whether light or heavy, upon the necks of the latest posterity; you may send this searching power into every hamlet for centuries to come, by laws enacted in the spirit of prophecy, and regulating all those dear relations of domestic concern which belong to local legislation, and which even local legislation touches with a delicate and sparing hand. This is the first inroad. But will it be the last? This provision is but a pioneer for others of a more desolating aspect. It is that fatal bridge of which Milton speaks, and when once firmly built, what shall hinder you to pass it when you please for the purpose of plundering power after power at the expense of new States, as you will still continue to call them, and raising up prospective codes irrevocable and immortal, which shall leave to those States the empty shadows of domestic sovereignty, and convert them into petty pageants, in themselves contemptible, but rendered infinitely more so by the contrast of their humble faculties with the proud and admitted pretensions of those who, having doomed them to the inferiority of vassals, have condescended to take them into their society and under their protection?

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WILLIAM PITT.

After the Design of Jackson. Engraved by H. Meyer.

THE admirable design by Jackson here reproduced, appeared in London in 1810. Its original, the portrait by Hoppner, was at that time owned by Lord Mulgrave. It is one of the most satisfying of the existing portraits of the great English orators. Pitt must have looked so at the time he gave his unfulfilled promise of becoming greater than his father.

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WILLIAM PITT

(1759–1806)

LORD BROUGHAM writes that as an orator William Pitt is to be placed in the very highest class. "With a spare use of ornament," he says, "hardly indulging more in figures or even in figurative expression than the most severe examples of ancient chasteness allowed; with little variety of style and hardly any of the graces of manner, he no sooner rose than he kept the attention fixed and unflagging till it pleased him to let it go." This effect Brougham attributes "to his unbroken flow which never for a moment left the hearer in pain or doubt, and yet was not the mere fluency of mere relaxation, requiring no effort of the speaker. . . . His declamation was admirable, mingling with and clothing the argument, and no more separable from the reasoning than the heat is from the metal in a stream of lava. Yet with all this excellence the last effect of the highest eloquence was for the most part wanting. We seldom forgot the speaker or lost the artist in his work." In this closing sentence Brougham shows why with all his great talents the younger Pitt falls below the elder as a man and a statesman. The father was great by reason of the force of his conviction of right, his devotion to the principles of law and liberty, his belief in England as the leader of the world, and in the right of every individual Englishman to be as free and happy as he was individually fit to be under free and equal laws. The son was great as an artist, who believed in men as the materials for statesmanship, to be moved this way and that by their intellectual superiors, with no more regard to their wishes than it was necessary to show as a means of moving them. In his speech of June 7th, 1799, proposing a military subsidy to Russia against France, he defines himself in saying: "Whatever I may in the abstract think of the kind of government called a Republic,—whatever may be its fitness to the nation where it now prevails, there may be times when it would not be dangerous to exist in its vicinity; but while the spirit of France remains what at present it is,—its government vindictive, despotic, unjust, with a temper untamed, a character unchanged,—if its power to do wrong at all remains, there does not exist any security for this country or Europe." The meaning of this guarded utterance was sufficiently explained by

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the attempt to restore the Bourbons, and in the gradual desertion by the Whigs, whom Pitt led, of what had been Whig principles in his father's lifetime. He defined in this speech the attitude of England in a way that helped to determine American policies against an aggressive Republican propaganda. Pitt was born near Hayes in Kent, May 28th, 1759. After a University record which gave promise of his future greatness, he entered Parliament in 1780. In July 1782 he became Chancellor of the Exchequer, and in 1783 Prime Minister. The English Whigs had been at first disposed to sympathize with French Republicanism, but in his administration of the domestic affairs of England Pitt repeatedly brought about the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and used all the force of the government to check the growth of republicanism of any kind. His second administration began in 1804, and he attempted to overthrow Napoleon by the combined forces of England, Russia, and Austria. When the attempt was defeated by Napoleon's brilliant victories of 1805 Pitt, broken in health and hope, retired from public life and died at Putney, January 23d, 1806.

AGAINST FRENCH REPUBLICANISM

(Delivered in the House of Commons, Sitting as "A Committee of Supply," June 7th, 1799, in Support of a Motion to Grant the Russian Army a Subsidy against France "for the Deliverance of Europe")

I WISH, sir, to offer such an explanation on some of the topics dwelt upon by the honorable gentleman who just sat down [Mr. Tierney] as will, I think, satisfy the committee and the honorable gentleman. The nature of the engagement to which the message would pledge the House is simply, that, first, for the purpose of setting the Russian army in motion, we shall advance to that country £225,000 — part of it by installments, to accompany the subsidy to be paid when the army is in actual service. And I believe no one who has been the least attentive to the progress of affairs in the world, who can appreciate worth and admire superior zeal and activity, will doubt the sincerity of the sovereign of Russia, or make a question of his integrity in any compact. The second head of distribution is £75,000 per month, to be paid at the expiration of every succeeding month of service; and lastly, a subsidy of £37,500 to be paid after the war, on the conclusion of a peace by common consent. Now I think it strange that the honorable gentleman should charge us with

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want of prudence, while it cannot be unknown to him that the principal subsidies are not to be paid until the service has been performed, and that in one remarkable instance the present subsidy differs from every other, in as much as a part of it is not to be paid until after the conclusion of a peace by common consent. I think gentlemen would act more consistently if they would openly give their opposition on the principle that they cannot support the war under any circumstances of the country and of Europe, than in this equivocal and cold manner to embarrass our deliberations and throw obstacles in the way of all vigorous co-operation. There is no reason, no ground to fear that that magnanimous prince will act with infidelity in a cause in which he is so sincerely engaged, and which he knows to be the cause of all good government, of religion, and humanity, against a monstrous medley of tyranny, injustice, vanity, irreligion, and folly. Of such an ally there can be no reason to be jealous; and least of all have the honorable gentlemen opposite me grounds of jealousy, considering the nature and circumstances of our engagements with that monarch. As to the sum itself, I think no man can find fault with it. In fact, it is comparatively small. We take into our pay forty-five thousand of the troops of Russia, and I believe if any gentleman will look to all former subsidies, the result will be, that never was so large a body of men subsidized for so small a sum. This fact cannot be considered without feeling that this magnanimous and powerful prince has undertaken to supply at a very trifling expense a most essential force, and that for the deliverance of Europe. I still must use this phrase, notwithstanding the sneers of the honorable gentlemen. Does it not promise the deliverance of Europe, when we find the armies of our allies rapidly advancing in a career of victory at once the most brilliant and auspicious that perhaps ever signalized the exertions of any combination? Will it be regarded with apathy, that that wise and vigorous and exalted prince has already, by his promptness and decision, given a turn to the affairs of the continent? Is the House to be called upon to refuse succor to our ally, who, by his prowess, and the bravery of his arms, has attracted so much of the attention and admiration of Europe?

The honorable gentleman says he wishes for peace, and that he approved more of what I said on this subject towards the close of my speech, than of the opening. Now what I said was,

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that if by powerfully seconding the efforts of our allies, we could only look for peace with any prospect of realizing our hopes, whatever would enable us to do so promptly and effectually would be true economy. I must, indeed, be much misunderstood, if generally it was not perceived that I meant that whether the period which is to carry us to peace be shorter or longer, what we have to look to is not so much when we make peace, as whether we shall derive from it complete and solid security; and that whatever other nations may do, whether they shall persevere in the contest, or untimely abandon it, we have to look to ourselves for the means of defense, we are to look to the means to secure our Constitution, preserve our character, and maintain our independence, in the virtue and perseverance of the people. There is a high-spirited pride, an elevated loyalty, a generous warmth of heart, a nobleness of spirit, a hearty, manly gaiety, which distinguish our nation, in which we are to look for the best pledges of general safety, and of that security against an aggressing usurpation, which other nations in their weakness or in their folly have yet nowhere found. With respect to that which appears so much to embarrass certain gentlemen,—the deliverance of Europe,—I will not say particularly what it is. Whether it is to be its deliverance from that under which it suffers, or that from which it is in danger; whether from the infection of false principles, the corroding cares of a period of distraction and dismay, or that dissolution of all governments, and that death of religion and social order which are to signalize the triumph of the French republic, if unfortunately for mankind she should, in spite of all opposition, prevail in the contest;—from whichsoever of these Europe is to be delivered, it will not be difficult to prove that what she suffers and what is her danger are the power and existence of the French Government. If any man says that the Government is not a tyranny, he miserably mistakes the character of that body. It is an insupportable and odious tyranny, holding within its grasp the lives, the characters, and the fortunes of all who are forced to own its sway, and only holding these that it may at will measure out of each the portion which from time to time it sacrifices to its avarice, its cruelty, and injustice. The French Republic is diked and fenced round with crime, and owes much of its present security to its being regarded with a horror which appalls men in their approaches to its impious battlements.

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The honorable gentleman says that he does not know whether the Emperor of Russia understands what we mean by the deliverance of Europe. I do not think it proper here to dwell much at length on this curious doubt. But whatever may be the meaning which that august personage attaches to our phrase, "the deliverance of Europe," at least he has shown that he is no stranger to the condition of the world; that whatever be the specific object of the contest, he has learned rightly to consider the character of the common enemy, and shows by his public proceedings that he is determined to take measures of more than ordinary precaution against the common disturbers of Europe and the common enemy of man. Will the honorable gentleman continue in his state of doubt? Let him look to the conduct of that prince during what has passed of the present campaign. If in such conduct there be not unfolded some solicitude for the deliverance of Europe from the tyranny of France, I know not, sir, in what we are to look for it. But the honorable gentleman seems to think no alliance can long be preserved against France. I do not deny that unfortunately some of the nations of Europe have shamefully crouched to that power, and receded from the common cause at a moment when it was due to their own dignity, to what they owed to that civilized community of which they are still a part, to persevere in the struggle, to reanimate their legions with that spirit of just detestation and vengeance which such inhumanity and cruelty might so well provoke. I do not say that the powers of Europe have not acted improperly in many other instances; and Russia in her turn; for, during a period of infinite peril to this country, she saw our danger advance upon us, and four different treaties entered into of offensive alliance against us, without comment, and without a single expression of its disapprobation. This was the conduct of that power in former times. The conduct of his present Majesty raises quite other emotions, and excites altogether a different interest. His Majesty, since his accession, has unequivocally declared his attachment to Great Britain, and, abandoning those projects of ambition which formed the occupation of his predecessor, he chose rather to join in the cause of religion and order against France than to pursue the plan marked out for him to humble and destroy a power which he was taught to consider as his common enemy. He turned aside from all hostility against the Ottoman Porte, and united his force to the power of that

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prince the more effectually to check the progress of the common enemy. Will gentlemen then continue to regard with suspicion the conduct of that prince? Has he not sufficiently shown his devotion to the cause in which we are engaged, by the kind, and number, and value of his sacrifices, ultimately to prevail in the struggle against the tyranny which, in changing our point of vision, we everywhere find accompanied in its desolating progress by degradation, misery, and nakedness, to the unhappy victims of its power,—a tyranny which has magnified and strengthened its powers to do mischief in the proportion that the legitimate and venerable fabrics of civilized and polished society have declined from the meridian of their glory and lost the power of doing good,—a tyranny which strides across the ill-fated domain of France, its foot armed with the scythe of oppression and indiscriminate proscription, that touches only to blight, and rests only to destroy; the reproach and the curse of the infatuated people who still continue to acknowledge it? When we consider that it is against this monster the Emperor of Russia has sent down his legions, shall we not say that he is entitled to our confidence?

But what is the constitutional State of the question? It is competent, undoubtedly, for any gentleman to make the character of an ally the subject of consideration; but in this case it is not to the Emperor of Russia we vote a subsidy, but to his Majesty. The question, therefore, is, whether his Majesty's Government affix any undue object to the message, whether they draw any undue inference from the deliverance of Europe. The honorable gentleman has told us that his deliverance of Europe is the driving of France within her ancient limits — that he is not indifferent to the restoration of the other States of Europe to independence, as connected with the independence of this country; but it is assumed by the honorable gentleman that we are not content with wishing to drive France within her ancient limits — that on the contrary, we seek to overthrow the Government of France; and he would make us say that we never will treat with it as a republic. Now I neither meant anything like this, nor expressed myself so as to lead to such inferences. Whatever I may in the abstract think of the kind of government called a republic, whatever may be its fitness to the nation where it prevails, there may be times when it would not be dangerous to exist in its vicinity. But while the spirit of France remains what at present it is, its Government despotic, vindictive, unjust, with a temper untamed,

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a character unchanged, if its power to do wrong at all remains, there does not exist any security, for this country or Europe. In my view of security, every object of ambition and aggrandizement is abandoned. Our simple object is security, just security, with a little mixture of indemnification. These are the legitimate objects of war at all times; and when we have attained that end, we are in a condition to derive from peace its beneficent advantages; but until then, our duty and our interest require that we should persevere unappalled in the struggle to which we were provoked. We shall not be satisfied with a false security. War, with all its evils, is better than a peace in which there is nothing to be seen but usurpation and injustice, dwelling with savage delight on the humble, prostrate condition of some timid suppliant people. It is not to be dissembled, that in the changes and chances to which the fortunes of individuals, as well as of States, are continually subject, we may have the misfortune, and great it would be, of seeing our allies decline the contest. I hope this will not happen. I hope it is not reserved for us to behold the mortifying spectacle of two mighty nations abandoning a contest, in which they have sacrificed so much and made such brilliant progress.

In the application of this principle I have no doubt but the honorable gentleman admits the security of the country to be the legitimate object of the contest; and I must think I am sufficiently intelligible on this topic. But wishing to be fully understood, I answer the honorable gentleman when he asks: "Does the right honorable gentleman mean to prosecute the war until the French Republic is overthrown? Is it his determination not to treat with France while it continues a republic?" I answer: I do not confine my views to the territorial limits of France; I contemplate the principles, character, and conduct of France; I consider what these are; I see in them the issues of distraction, of infamy and ruin, to every State in her alliance; and, therefore, I say that until the aspect of that mighty mass of iniquity and folly is entirely changed,—until the character of the Government is totally reversed,—until, by common consent of the general voice of all men, I can with truth tell Parliament, France is no longer terrible for her contempt of the rights of every other nation—she no longer avows schemes of universal empire—she has settled into a state whose government can maintain those relations in their integrity, in which alone civilized communities are

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to find their security, and from which they are to derive their distinction and their glory,— until in the situation of France we have exhibited to us those features of a wise, a just, and a liberal policy, I cannot treat with her. The time to come to the discussion of a peace can only be the time when you can look with confidence to an honorable issue; to such a peace as shall at once restore to Europe her settled and balanced Constitution of general polity, and to every negotiating power in particular, that weight in the scale of general empire which has ever been found the best guarantee and pledge of local independence and general security. Such are my sentiments. I am not afraid to disavow them. I commit them to the thinking part of mankind, and if they have not been poisoned by the stream of French sophistry, and prejudiced by her falsehood, I am sure they will approve of the determination I have avowed for those grave and mature reasons on which I found it. I earnestly pray that all the powers engaged in the contest may think as I do, and particularly the Emperor of Russia, which, indeed, I do not doubt; and, therefore, I do contend that with that power it is fit that the House should enter into the engagement recommended in his Majesty's message.

ENGLAND'S SHARE IN THE SLAVE TRADE

(From a Speech in Parliament, April 2d, 1792)

Why ought the slave trade to be abolished? Because it is incurable injustice! How much stronger, then, is the argument for immediate than gradual abolition! By allowing it to continue even for one hour, do not my right honorable friends weaken — do not they desert their own argument of its injustice? If on the ground of injustice it ought to be abolished at last, why ought it not now? Why is injustice to be suffered to remain for a single hour? From what I hear without doors, it is evident that there is a general conviction entertained of its being far from just, and from that very conviction of its injustice some men have been led, I fear, to the supposition that the slave trade never could have been permitted to begin, but from some strong and irresistible necessity,—a necessity, however, which, if it was fancied to exist at first, I have shown cannot be thought by any man whatever to exist at present.

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This plea of necessity, thus presumed, and presumed, as I suspect, from the circumstance of injustice itself, has caused a sort of acquiescence in the continuance of this evil. Men have been led to place it in the rank of those necessary evils which are supposed to be the lot of human creatures, and to be permitted to fall upon some countries or individuals, rather than upon others, by that Being whose ways are inscrutable to us, and whose dispensations, it is conceived, we ought not to look into. The origin of evil is, indeed, a subject beyond the reach of the human understanding; and the permission of it by the Supreme Being is a subject into which it belongs not to us to inquire. But where the evil in question is a moral evil which a man can scrutinize, and where that moral evil has its origin with ourselves, let us not imagine that we can clear our consciences by this general, not to say irreligious and impious, way of laying aside the question. If we reflect at all on this subject, we must see that every necessary evil supposes that some other and greater evil would be incurred, were it removed. I therefore desire to ask: What can be that greater evil which can be stated to overbalance the one in question? I know of no evil that ever has existed, nor can imagine any evil to exist, worse than the tearing of eighty thousand persons annually from their native land, by a combination of the most civilized nations in the most enlightened quarter of the globe,—but more especially by that nation which calls herself the most free and the most happy of them all. Even if these miserable beings were proved guilty of every crime before you take them off (of which, however, not a single proof is adduced), ought we to take upon ourselves the office of executioners? And even if we condescend so far, still can we be justified in taking them, unless we have clear proof that they are criminals?

But if we go much further,—if we ourselves tempt them to sell their fellow-creatures to us, we may rest assured that they will take care to provide by every method, by kidnaping, by village-breaking, by unjust wars, by iniquitous condemnations, by rendering Africa a scene of bloodshed and misery, a supply of victims increasing in proportion to our demand. Can we, then, hesitate in deciding whether the wars in Africa are their wars or ours? It was our arms in the River Cameroon, put into the hands of the trader, that furnished him with the means of pushing his trade; and I have no more doubt that they are Brit-

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ish arms, put into the hands of Africans, which promote universal war and desolation, than I can doubt their having done so in that individual instance.

I have shown how great is the enormity of this evil, even on the supposition that we take only convicts and prisoners of war. But take the subject in the other way; take it on the grounds stated by the right honorable gentleman over the way, and how does it stand? Think of eighty thousand persons carried away out of their country, by we know not what means, for crimes imputed; for light or inconsiderable faults; for debt, perhaps; for the crime of witchcraft; or a thousand other weak and scandalous pretexts! Besides, all the fraud and kidnaping, the villainies and perfidy, by which the slave trade is supplied. Reflect on these eighty thousand persons thus annually taken off! There is something in the horror of it that surpasses all the bounds of imagination. Admitting that there exists in Africa something like to courts of justice, yet what an office of humiliation and meanness is it in us to take upon ourselves to carry into execution the partial, the cruel, iniquitous sentences of such courts, as if we also were strangers to all religion, and to the first principles of justice.

Thus, sir, has the perversion of British commerce carried misery instead of happiness to one whole quarter of the globe. False to the very principles of trade, misguided in our policy, and unmindful of our duty, what astonishing — I had almost said, what irreparable — mischief, have we brought upon that continent! How shall we hope to obtain, if it be possible, forgiveness from Heaven for those enormous evils we have committed, if we refuse to make use of those means which the mercy of Providence hath still reserved to us, for wiping away the guilt and shame with which we are now covered. If we refuse even this degree of compensation, — if, knowing the miseries we have caused, we refuse even now to put a stop to them, how greatly aggravated will be the guilt of Great Britain! and what a blot will these transactions forever be in the history of this country! Shall we, then, delay to repair these injuries, and to begin rendering justice to Africa? Shall we not count the days and hours that are suffered to intervene and to delay the accomplishment of such a work? Reflect what an immense object is before you; what an object for a nation to have in view and to have a prospect, under the favor of Providence, of being now permitted to attain! I think

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the House will agree with me in cherishing the ardent wish to enter without delay upon the measures necessary for these great ends; and I am sure that the immediate abolition of the slave trade is the first, the principal, the most indispensable act of policy, of duty, and of justice, that the Legislature of this country has to take, if it is, indeed, their wish to secure those important objects to which I have alluded, and which we are bound to pursue by the most solemn obligations.

Having now detained the House so long, all that I will further add shall be on that important subject, the civilization of Africa, which I have already shown that I consider as the leading feature in this question. Grieved am I to think that there should be a single person in this country, much more that there should be a single Member in the British Parliament, who can look on the present dark, uncultivated, and uncivilized state of that continent as a ground for continuing the slave trade; as a ground, not only for refusing to attempt the improvement of Africa, but even for hindering and intercepting every ray of light which might otherwise break in upon her, as a ground for refusing to her the common chance and the common means with which other nations have been blessed, of emerging from their native barbarism. . . .

I trust we shall no longer continue this commerce to the destruction of every improvement on that wide continent, and shall not consider ourselves as conferring too great a boon in restoring its inhabitants to the rank of human beings. I trust we shall not think ourselves too liberal, if, by abolishing the slave trade, we give them the same common chance of civilization with other parts of the world, and that we shall now allow to Africa the opportunity, the hope, the prospect of attaining to the same blessings which we ourselves, through the favorable dispensations of Divine Providence, have been permitted, at a much more early period, to enjoy. If we listen to the voice of reason and duty, and pursue this night the line of conduct which they prescribe, some of us may live to see a reverse of that picture from which we now turn our eyes with shame and regret. We may live to behold the natives of Africa engaged in the calm occupations of industry, in the pursuits of a just and legitimate commerce. We may behold the beams of science and philosophy breaking in upon their land, which at some happy period in still later times may blaze with full lustre, and, joining their influence to that of

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pure religion, may illuminate and invigorate the most distant extremities of that immense continent. Then may we hope that even Africa, though last of all the quarters of the globe, shall enjoy at length, in the evening of her days, those blessings which have descended so plentifully upon us in a much earlier period of the world. Then, also, will Europe, participating in her improvement and prosperity, receive an ample recompense for the tardy kindness (if kindness it can be called) of no longer hindering that continent from extricating herself out of the darkness which, in other more fortunate regions, has been so much more speedily dispelled.

> «——*Nos que ubi primus equis oriens afflavit anhelis;*
> *Illic sera rubens accendit lumina vesper.*»

Then, sir, may be applied to Africa those words, originally used, indeed, with a different view:—

> «*His demum exactis*——————
> *Devenêre locos lætos, et amœna vireta*
> *Fortunatorum nemorum, sedesque beatas;*
> *Largior hic campos Æther et lumine vestit*
> *Purpureo.*»

It is in this view, sir,—it is an atonement for our long and cruel injustice toward Africa, that the measure proposed by my honorable friend most forcibly recommends itself to my mind. The great and happy change to be expected in the state of her inhabitants is, of all the various and important benefits of the abolition, in my estimation, incomparably the most extensive and important.

I shall vote, sir, against the adjournment, and I shall also oppose to the utmost every proposition which in any way may tend either to prevent, or even to postpone for an hour, the total abolition of the slave trade,—a measure which, on all the various grounds I have stated, we are bound, by the most pressing and indispensable duty, to adopt.

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BARON PLUNKETT

(WILLIAM CONYNGHAM PLUNKETT)

(1765–1854)

IN HIS speech prosecuting Robert Emmet for treason, Plunkett used with the utmost skill the arguments with which the Conservatism he represented always attempts to maintain the *status quo* and to punish those who disturb it. Plunkett was an Irishman only by the accident of birth. He was born in the County of Fermanagh in 1765 of English ancestry, and educated in Dublin and London. He began the practice of law in 1787 and the next year was elected to the Irish Parliament. In 1804 he was made Solicitor-General of Ireland, and subsequently became Attorney-General. In 1812 he was elected to the English Parliament to represent Trinity College, Dublin. In 1827 he became Chief-Justice of the Court of Common Pleas and was raised to the peerage as Baron Plunkett. Between 1830 and 1834, and again from 1835 to 1841, he was Lord Chancellor of Ireland. He died January 5th, 1854.

PROSECUTING ROBERT EMMET

(From His Speech at the Trial of Emmet, for High Treason, before the Court Held under a Special Commission at Dublin, Monday, September 19th, 1803)

My Lords and Gentlemen of the Jury:—

YOU need not entertain any apprehension that at this hour of the day I am disposed to take up a great deal of your time, by observing upon the evidence which has been given. In truth, if this were an ordinary case, and if the object of this prosecution did not include some more momentous interests than the mere question of the guilt or innocence of the unfortunate gentleman who stands a prisoner at the bar, I should have followed the example of his counsel and should have declined making any observation upon the evidence. But, gentlemen, I do feel this to be a case of infinite importance, indeed. It is a case important like all others of this kind, by involving the life of a

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fellow-subject; but it is doubly and tenfold important because from the evidence which has been given in the progress of it the system of this conspiracy against the laws and Constitution of the country has been developed in all its branches; and in observing upon the conduct of the prisoner at the bar, and in bringing home the evidence of his guilt, I am bringing home guilt to a person, who, I say, is the centre, the lifeblood, and soul of this atrocious conspiracy.

Gentlemen, with respect to the evidence which has been offered upon the part of the Crown to substantiate the guilt of the prisoner, I shall be very short, indeed, in recapitulating and observing upon it; I shall have very little more to do than to follow the statement which was made by my learned and eloquent friend, who stated the case upon the part of the Crown; because it appears to me that the outline which was given by him has been, with an exactness and precision seldom to be met with, followed up by the proof. Gentlemen, what is the sum and substance of that proof? I shall not detain you by detailing the particulars of it. You see the prisoner at the bar returning from foreign countries, some time before hostilities were on the point of breaking out between these countries and France. At first avowing himself, not disguising or concealing himself; he was then under no necessity of doing so, but when hostilities commenced and when it was not improbable that foreign invasion might co-operate with domestic treason, you see him throwing off the name by which he was previously known, and distinguishing himself under new appellations and characters. You see him, in the month of March or April, going to an obscure lodging at Harold's Cross, assuming the name of Hewitt, and concealing himself there — for what purpose? Has he called upon any witness to explain it to you? If he were upon any private enterprise,— if for fair and honorable views, or any other purpose than that which is imputed to him by the indictment, has he called a single witness to explain it? No; but after remaining six weeks or two months in this concealment, when matters began to ripen a little more, when the house was hired in Thomas street, which became the depot and magazine of military preparation, he then thinks it necessary to assume another character and another place of abode, accommodated to a more enlarged sphere of action; he abandons his lodging, he pays a fine of sixty-one guineas for a house in Butterfield-lane, again disguised

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by another assumed name, that of Ellis. Has he called any person to account for this, or to excuse by argument, or even by assertion, this conduct? Why, for any honest purpose, should he take this place for his habitation under a feigned name?

But you find his plans of treason becoming more mature. He is there associated with two persons. One of the name of Dowdall; we have not explained in evidence what his situation is or what he had been: the other is Quigley; he has been ascertained by the evidence to have been a person originally following the occupation of a bricklayer, but he thought proper to desert the humble walk in which he was originally placed and to become a framer of constitutions and a subverter of empires.

With these associates he remains at Butterfield-lane, occasionally leaving it and returning again; whether he was superintending the works which were going forward, or whatever other employment engaged him, you will determine. Be it what it may; if it were not for the purpose of treason and rebellion, he has not thought proper by evidence to explain it. So matters continued until some short time before the fatal night of the twenty-third of July. Matters became somewhat hastened by an event which took place about a week before the breaking out of the insurrection; a house in Patrick street, in which a quantity of powder had been collected for the purpose of the rebellion, exploded. An alarm was spread by this accident; the conspirators found that if they delayed their schemes and waited for foreign co-operation, they would be detected and defeated, and, therefore, it became necessary to hasten to immediate action. What is the consequence? From that time the prisoner is not seen in his old habitation; he moves into town, and becomes an inmate and constant inhabitant of this depot. These facts which I am stating are not collected from inference from his disguise, his concealment, or the assumption of a feigned name, or the other concomitant circumstances, but are proved by the positive testimony of three witnesses, all of whom positively swear to the identity of his person,—Fleming, Coghlan, and Farrell, every one of whom swears he saw the prisoner, tallying exactly with each other as to his person, the dress he wore, the functions he exercised; and every one of whom had a full opportunity of knowing him. You see him at Butterfield-lane under the assumed name of Ellis; you see him carrying the same name into the depot, not wishing to avow his own until the achievement of

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the enterprise would crown it with some additional eclat. . . . You heard the kind of implements which were prepared, their account of the command assumed by the prisoner,—living an entire week in the depot, animating his workmen, and hastening them to the conclusion of their business. When the hour of action arrived, you see him dressed in military array, putting himself at the head of the troops who had been shut up with him in this asylum, and advancing with his party, armed for the capture of the castle and the destruction of his fellow-citizens. . . .

Gentlemen, with regard to the mass of accumulated evidence, forming irrefragable proof of the guilt of the prisoner, I conceive no man, capable of putting together two ideas, can have a doubt; why, then, do I address you, or why should I trespass any longer upon your time and your attention? Because, as I have already mentioned, I feel this to be a case of great public expectation—of the very last national importance; and, because, when I am prosecuting a man, in whose veins the very lifeblood of this conspiracy flowed, I expose to the public eye the utter meanness and insufficiency of its resources. What does it avow itself to be? A plan not to correct the excesses or reform the abuses of the Government of the country; not to remove any specks of imperfection which might have grown upon the surface of the Constitution, or to restrain the overgrown power of the Crown, or to restore any privilege of Parliament, or to throw any new security around the liberty of the subject; no, but it plainly and boldly avows itself to be a plan to separate Great Britain from Ireland, uproot the monarchy, and establish "a free and independent republic in Ireland" in its place! To sever the connection between Great Britain and Ireland! Gentlemen, I should feel it a waste of words and of public time were I addressing you or any person within the limits of my voice, to talk of the frantic desperation of the plan of any man who speculates upon the dissolution of that empire, whose glory and whose happiness depend upon its indissoluble connection. But were it practicable to sever that connection, to untie the links which bind us to the British Constitution, and to turn us adrift upon the turbulent ocean of revolution, who could answer for the existence of this country as an independent power for a year? God and nature have made the two countries essential to each other; let them cling to each other to the end of time, and their united affection and loyalty will be proof against the machinations of the world.

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But how was this to be done? By establishing "a free and independent republic!" High-sounding name! I would ask whether this man who used it understood what he meant. I will not ask what may be its benefits, for I know its evils. There is no magic in the name. We have heard of "free and independent republics," and have since seen the most abject slavery that ever groaned under iron despotism growing out of them.

Formerly, gentlemen of the jury, we have seen revolutions effected by some great call of the people, ripe for change and unfitted by their habits for ancient forms; but here from the obscurity of concealment and by the voice of that pygmy authority, self-created and fearing to show itself but in arms under cover of the night, we are called upon to surrender a constitution which has lasted for a period of one thousand years. Had any body of the people come forward stating any grievance, or announcing their demand for a change? No, but while the country is peaceful, enjoying the blessings of the Constitution, growing rich and happy under it, a few desperate, obscure, contemptible adventurers in the trade of revolution form a scheme against the constituted authorities of the land, and by force and violence to overthrow an ancient and venerable Constitution, and to plunge a whole people into the horrors of civil war!

If the wisest head that ever lived had framed the wisest system of laws which human ingenuity could devise,—if he were satisfied that the system were exactly fitted to the disposition of the people for whom he intended it, and that a great proportion of that people were anxious for its adoption, yet give me leave to say that under all these circumstances of fitness and disposition a well-judging mind and a humane heart would pause a while and stop upon the brink of his purpose, before he would hazard the peace of the country by resorting to force for the establishment of his system. But here, in the frenzy of distempered ambition, the author of the proclamation conceives the project of "a free and independent Republic,"—he at once flings it down and he tells every man in the community, rich or poor, loyal or disloyal, he must adopt it at the peril of being considered an enemy to the country, and of suffering the pains and penalties attendant thereupon. . . .

Gentlemen, so far I have taken up your time with observing upon the nature and extent of the conspiracy, its objects, and the means by which they proposed to effectuate them. Let me

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now call your attention to the pretexts by which they seek to support them. They have not stated what particular grievance or oppression is complained of, but they have traveled back into the history of six centuries,—they have raked up the ashes of former cruelties and rebellions, and upon the memory of them they call upon the good people of this country to embark into similar troubles; but they forget to tell the people that until the infection of new-fangled French principles was introduced, this country was for a hundred years free from the slightest symptom of rebellion, advancing in improvement of every kind beyond any example, while the former animosities of the country were melting down into a general system of philanthropy and cordial attachment to each other. They forget to tell the people whom they address that they have been enjoying the equal benefit of laws by which the property, the person, and constitutional rights and privileges of every man are abundantly protected. They have not pointed out a single instance of oppression. Give me leave to ask any man who may have suffered himself to be deluded by those enemies of the law, what there is to prevent the exercise of honest industry, and enjoying the produce of it. Does any man presume to invade him in the enjoyment of his property? If he does, is not the punishment of the law brought down upon him? What does he want? What is it that any rational friend to freedom could expect that the people of this country are not fully and amply in the possession of? And, therefore, when those idle stories are told of six hundred years of oppression and of rebellions prevailing, when this country was in a state of ignorance and barbarism, and which have long since passed away, they are utterly destitute of a fact to rest upon; they are a fraud upon feeling, and are the pretext of the factious and ambitious, working upon credulity and ignorance. . . .

Gentlemen, why do I state these facts? Is it to show that the Government need not be vigilant, or that our gallant countrymen should relax in their exertions? By no means; but to convince the miserable victims, who have been misled by those phantoms of revolutionary delusion, that they ought to lose no time in abandoning a cause which cannot protect itself, and exposes them to destruction, and to adhere to the peaceful and secure habits of honest industry. If they knew it, they have no reason to repine at their lot; Providence is not so unkind to them in casting them in that humble walk in which they are placed. Let them obey

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the law and cultivate religion and worship their God in their own way. They may prosecute their labor in peace and tranquillity; they need not envy the higher ranks of life, but may look with pity upon that vicious despot who watches with the sleepless eye of disquieting ambition, and sits a wretched usurper trembling upon the throne of the Bourbons. But I do not wish to awaken any remorse, except such as may be salutary to himself and the country, in the mind of the prisoner. But when he reflects that he has stooped from the honorable situation in which his birth, talents, and his education placed him, to debauch the minds of the lower orders of ignorant men with the phantoms of liberty and equality, he must feel that it was an unworthy use of his talents; he should feel remorse for the consequences which ensued, grievous to humanity and virtue, and should endeavor to make all the atonement he can by employing the little time which remains for him in endeavoring to undeceive them.

Liberty and equality are dangerous names to make use of; if properly understood, they mean enjoyment of personal freedom under the equal protection of the laws; and a genuine love of liberty inculcates an affection for our friends, our king, and country; a reverence for their lives, an anxiety for their safety; a feeling which advances from private to public life, until it expands and swells into the more dignified name of philanthropy and philosophy. But in the cant of modern philosophy, these affections which form the ennobling distinctions of man's nature are all thrown aside; all the vices of his character are made the instrument of moral good — an abstract quantity of vice may produce a certain quantity of moral good. To a man whose principles are thus poisoned and his judgment perverted, the most flagitious crimes lose their names, — robbery and murder become moral good. He is taught not to startle at putting to death a fellow-creature, if it be presented as a mode of contributing to the good of all. In pursuit of these phantoms and chimeras of the brain, they abolish feelings and instincts, which God and nature have planted in our hearts for the good of humankind. Thus, by the printed plan for the establishment of liberty and a free republic, murder is prohibited and proscribed; and yet you heard how this caution against excesses was followed up by the recital of every grievance that ever existed, and which could excite every bad feeling of the heart, the most vengeful cruelty and insatiate thirst of blood.

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Gentlemen, I am anxious to suppose that the mind of the prisoner recoiled at the scenes of murder which he witnessed, and I mention one circumstance with satisfaction; it appears he saved the life of Farrell; and may the recollection of that one good action cheer him in his last moments! But though he may not have planned individual murders, that is no excuse to justify his embarking in treason, which must be followed by every species of crimes. It is supported by the rabble of the country, while the rank, the wealth, and the power of the country are opposed to it. Let loose the rabble of the country from the salutary restraints of the law, and who can take upon him to limit their barbarities? Who can say he will disturb the peace of the world and rule it when wildest? Let loose the winds of heaven, and what power less than omnipotent can control them? So it is with the rabble; let them loose, and who can restrain them? What claim, then, can the prisoner have upon the compassion of a jury, because in the general destruction which his schemes necessarily produce he did not meditate individual murder? In the short space of a quarter of an hour, what a scene of blood and horror was exhibited! I trust that the blood which has been shed in the streets of Dublin upon that night, and since upon the scaffold, and which may hereafter be shed, will not be visited upon the head of the prisoner. It is not for me to say what are the limits of the mercy of God, or what a sincere repentance of those crimes may effect; but I do say that if this unfortunate young gentleman retains any of the seeds of humanity in his heart, or possesses any of those qualities which a virtuous education in a liberal seminary must have planted in his bosom, he will make an atonement to his God and his country, by employing whatever time remains to him in warning his deluded countrymen from persevering in their schemes. Much blood has been shed, and he, perhaps, would have been immolated by his followers if he had succeeded. They are a bloodthirsty crew, incapable of listening to the voice of reason and equally incapable of obtaining rational freedom, if it were wanting in this country, as they are of enjoying it. They imbrue their hands in the most sacred blood of the country, and yet they call upon God to prosper their cause, as if it were just! But as it is atrocious, wicked, and abominable, I most devoutly invoke that God to confound and overwhelm it.

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EDGAR ALLAN POE

(1809–1849)

POE's theory of effective expression as he states it in his lecture, 'The Poetic Principle,' is remarkable for its harmony with the methods of the great Attic orators. «In enforcing a truth,» he says, «we need severity rather than efflorescence of language. We must be simple, precise, terse. We must be cool, calm, unimpassioned. In a word we must be in that mood, which, as nearly as possible, is the exact converse of the poetical.» In writing prose or in speaking, Poe's ear for music leads him to violate persistently the canons of his own art of simplicity. In such sentences as this, he is delighting himself with the music of language fully as much as with the beauty of the idea he attempts to express: «An immortal instinct, deep within the spirit of man, is thus, plainly, a sense of the beautiful. This it is which administers to his delight in the manifold forms and sound and odors and sentiments amid which he exists; and just as the lily is repeated in the lake, or the eyes of Amaryllis in the mirror, so is the mere oral or written repetition of these forms and sounds and colors and odors and sentiments a duplicate source of delight.» When Burke or Curran are deeply moved we have in their language the same subtle harmony, the same exquisite melody which governs the flow of these sentences. Poe was seldom able to define himself with scientific accuracy, but even when he is most inaccurate in definition, all that he says on such subjects is valuable because of the instinctive correctness and delicacy of his ear for the harmonies of language. His lecture, 'The Poetic Principle,' is one of the very few public addresses he delivered during his lifetime. He lived at a time when the platform was at the height of its power and usefulness, but he was too sensitive to appear as a public speaker, except under the pressure of his necessities.

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THE LOVE FOR THE BEAUTIFUL IN SPEECH

(From His Lecture on 'The Poetic Principle')

WITH as deep a reverence for the true as ever inspired the bosom of man, I would, nevertheless, limit in some measure its modes of inculcation. I would limit to enforce them. I would not enfeeble them by dissipation. The demands of truth are severe; she has no sympathy with the myrtles. All that which is so indispensable in song is precisely all that with which she has nothing whatever to do. It is but making her a flaunting paradox to wreathe her in gems and flowers. In enforcing a truth we need severity rather than efflorescence of language. We must be simple, precise, terse. We must be cool, calm, unimpassioned. In a word, we must be in that mood, which, as nearly as possible, is the exact converse of the poetical. He must be blind, indeed, who does not perceive the radical and chasmal differences between the truthful and poetical modes of inculcation. He must be theory-mad beyond redemption, who, in spite of these differences, shall still persist in attempting to reconcile the obstinate oils and waters of poetry and truth.

Dividing the world of mind into its three most immediately obvious distinctions, we have the pure intellect, taste, and the moral sense. I place taste in the middle, because it is just this position which in the mind it occupies. It holds intimate relations with either extreme, but from the moral sense is separated by so faint a difference that Aristotle has not hesitated to place some of its operations among the virtues themselves. Nevertheless, we find the offices of the trio marked with a sufficient distinction. Just as the intellect concerns itself with truth, so taste informs us of the beautiful, while the moral sense is regardful of duty. Of this latter, while conscience teaches the obligation, and reason the expediency, taste contents herself with displaying the charms: —waging war upon vice solely on the ground of her deformity; her disproportion, her animosity to the fitting, to the appropriate, to the harmonious—in a word to beauty.

An immortal instinct, deep within the spirit of man, is thus plainly, a sense of the beautiful. This it is which administers to his delight in the manifold forms and sounds and odors and sentiments amid which he exists; and just as the lily is repeated in the lake, or the eyes of Amaryllis in the mirror, so is

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the mere oral or written repetition of these forms and sounds and colors and odors and sentiments a duplicate source of delight. But this mere repetition is not poetry. He who shall simply sing, with however glowing enthusiasm, or with however vivid a truth of description, of the sights and sounds and odors and sentiments which greet him in common with all mankind,— he, I say, has yet failed to prove his divine title. There is still a something in the distance which he has been unable to attain. We have still a thirst unquenchable, to allay which he has not shown us the crystal springs. This thirst belongs to the immortality of man. It is at once a consequence and an indication of his perennial existence. It is the desire of the moth for the star. It is no mere appreciation of the beauty before us, but a wild effort to reach the beauty above. Inspired by an ecstatic prescience of the glories beyond the grave, we struggle by multiform combinations among the things and thoughts of time to attain a portion of that loveliness whose very elements, perhaps, appertain to eternity alone. And thus when by poetry,—or when by music, the most entrancing of the poetic moods,—we find ourselves melted into tears, not as the Abbate Gravia supposes through excess of pleasure, but through a certain petulant, impatient sorrow at our inability to grasp now, wholly, here on earth, at once and forever, those divine and rapturous joys, of which through the poem, or through the music, we attain to but brief and indeterminate glimpses.

The struggle to apprehend the supernal loveliness — this struggle, on the part of souls fittingly constituted — has given to the world all that which it (the world) has ever been enabled at once to understand and to feel as poetic.

The poetic sentiment, of course, may develop itself in various modes,— in painting, in sculpture, in architecture, in the dance —very especially in music,—and very peculiarly, and with a wide field, in the composition of the landscape garden. Our present theme, however, has regard only to its manifestation in words. And here let me speak briefly on the topic of rhythm. Contenting myself with the certainty that music, in its various modes of metre, rhythm, and rhyme, is of so vast a moment in poetry as never to be wisely rejected,— is so vitally important an adjunct, that he is simply silly who declines its assistance,— I will not now pause to maintain its absolute essentiality. It is in music, perhaps, that the soul most nearly attains the great end

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for which, when inspired by the poetic sentiment, it struggles—the creation of supernal beauty. It may be, indeed, that here this sublime end is, now and then, attained in fact. We are often made to feel, with a shivering delight, that from an earthly harp are stricken notes which cannot have been unfamiliar to the angels. And thus there can be but little doubt that in the union of poetry with music in its popular sense we shall find the wildest field for the poetic development. The old bards and minnesingers had advantages which we do not possess, and Thomas Moore singing his own songs was, in the most legitimate manner, perfecting them as poems.

To recapitulate, then, I would define, in brief, the poetry of words as the rhythmical creation of beauty. Its sole arbiter is taste. With the intellect or with the conscience, it has only collateral relations; unless, incidentally, it has no concern whatever either with duty or with truth.

A few words, however, in explanation. That pleasure which is at once the most pure, the most elevating, and the most intense, is derived, I maintain, from the contemplation of the beautiful. In the contemplation of beauty we alone find it possible to attain that pleasurable elevation, or excitement, of the soul, which we recognize as the poetic sentiment, and which is so easily distinguished from truth, which is the satisfaction of the reason, or from passion, which is the excitement of the heart. I make beauty, therefore,—using the word as inclusive of the sublime,—I make beauty the province of the poem, simply because it is an obvious rule of art that effects should be made to spring as directly as possible from their causes—no one as yet having been weak enough to deny that the peculiar elevation in question is at least the most readily attainable in the poem. It by no means follows, however, that the incitements of passion, or the precepts of duty, or even the lessons of truth, may not be introduced into a poem, and with advantage; for they may subserve, incidentally, in various ways, the general purposes of the work; but the true artist will always contrive to tone them down in proper subjection to that beauty which is the atmosphere and the real essence of the poem.

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HENRY CODMAN POTTER

(1835–)

HENRY CODMAN POTTER, Episcopal Bishop of New York, was born at Schenectady, New York, May 25th, 1835. His father, Alonzo Potter, was Vice-President of Union College, Bishop of Pennsylvania, and author of a number of philosophical and educational works. His uncle, Horatio Potter, was Bishop of New York from 1861 to 1887, and he himself became assistant Bishop of that diocese in 1883, and Bishop on the death of his uncle. One of the most notable of his addresses was that delivered at St. Paul's Chapel in New York city on the hundredth anniversary of Washington's first inauguration. It excited wide discussion not unmixed with heated denunciation from some who interpreted it as an attack on their own favorite political theories.

WASHINGTON AND AMERICAN ARISTOCRACY

(Delivered at St. Paul's Chapel, New York City, April 30th, 1889, on the Hundredth Anniversary of Washington's First Inauguration — By Permission from the Authorized Text)

ONE hundred years ago there knelt within these walls a man to whom, above all others in its history, this nation is indebted. An Englishman by race and lineage, he incarnated in his own person and character every best trait and attribute that have made the Anglo-Saxon name a glory to its children and a terror to its enemies throughout the world. But he was not so much an Englishman, that when the time came for him to be so, he was not even more an American; and in all that he was and did, a patriot so exalted, and a leader so great and wise, that what men called him when he came here to be inaugurated as the first President of the United States the civilized world has not since then ceased to call him — the Father of his Country.

We are here this morning to thank God for so great a gift to this people, to commemorate the incidents of which this day is

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the one hundredth anniversary, and to recognize the responsibilities which a century so eventful has laid upon us.

And we are here of all other places, first of all, with pre-eminent appropriateness. I know not how it may be with those to whom all sacred things and places are matters of equal indifference, but surely to those of us with whom it is otherwise it cannot be without profound and pathetic import that when the first President of the Republic had taken upon him, by virtue of his solemn oath, pronounced in the sight of the people, the heavy burden of its chief magistracy, he turned straightway to these walls, and, kneeling in yonder pew, asked God for strength to keep his promise to the nation and his oath to him. This was no unwonted home to him, nor to a large proportion of those eminent men who, with him, were associated in framing the Constitution of these United States. Children of the same spiritual mother and nurtured in the same scriptural faith and order, they were wont to carry with them into their public deliberation something of the same reverent and conservative spirit which they had learned within these walls, and of which the youthful and ill-regulated fervors of the newborn Republic often betrayed its need. And he, their leader and chief, while singularly without cant, or formalism, or pretense in his religious habits, was penetrated, as we know well, by a profound sense of the dependence of the Republic upon a guidance other than that of man, and of his own need of a strength and courage and wisdom greater than he had in himself.

And so, with inexpressible tenderness and reverence we find ourselves thinking of him here, kneeling to ask such gifts, and then rising to go forth to his great tasks with mien so august and majestic that Fisher Ames, who sat beside him in this chapel, wrote: "I was present in the pew with the President, and must assure you that, after making all deductions for the delusions of one's fancy in regard to characters, I still think of him with more veneration than for any other person." So we think of him, I say; and, indeed, it is impossible to think otherwise. The modern student of history has endeavored to tell us how it was that the service in this chapel which we are striving to reproduce came about. The record is not without obscurity, but of one thing we may be sure,—that to him who of that goodly company which a hundred years ago gathered within these walls was chief, it was no empty form, no decorous affectation. Events had

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been too momentous, the hand of a Heavenly Providence had been too plain, for him, and the men who were grouped about him then, to misread the one or mistake the other. The easy levity with which their children's children debate the facts of God and duty and eternal destiny was as impossible to them as faith and reverence seem to be, or to be in danger of becoming, to many of us. And so we may be very sure that, when they gathered here, the air was hushed, and hearts as well as heads were bent in honest supplication.

For, after all, their great experiment was then, in truth, but just beginning. The memorable days and deeds which had preceded it — the struggle for independence, the delicate, and, in many respects, more difficult struggle for Union, the harmonizing of the various and often apparently conflicting interests of rival and remote States and sections, the formulating and adopting of the National Constitution — all these were, after all, but introductory and preparatory to the great experiment itself. It has been suggested that we may wisely see in the event which we celebrate to-day an illustration of those great principles upon which all governments rest, of the continuity of the chief magistracy, of the corporate life of the nation as embodied in its Executive, of the transmission, by due succession, of authority, and the like; of all of which, doubtless, in the history of the last one hundred years we have an interesting and, on the whole, inspiring example.

But it is a somewhat significant fact that it is not along lines such as these that that enthusiasm which has flamed out during these recent days and weeks, as this anniversary has approached, has seemed to move. The one thing that has, I imagine, amazed a good many cynical and pessimistic people among us is the way in which the ardor of a great people's love and homage and gratitude has kindled, not before the image of a mechanism, but of a man. It has been felt with an unerring intuition which has, once and again and again in human history, been the attribute of the people as distinguished from the doctrinaires, the theorists, the system-makers, that that which makes it worth while to commemorate the inauguration of George Washington is not merely that it is the consummation of the nation's struggle towards organic life, not merely that by the initiation of its Chief Executive it set in operation that Constitution of which Mr. Gladstone has declared: "As far as I can see, the American Constitution is the

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most wonderful work ever struck off at one time by the brain and purpose of man"; but that it celebrates the beginning of an administration which, by its lofty and stainless integrity, by its absolute superiority to selfish or secondary motives, by the rectitude of its daily conduct in the face of whatsoever threats, blandishments, or combinations, rather than by the ostentatious pharisaism of its professions, has taught this nation and the world forever what the Christian ruler of a Christian people ought to be.

I yield to no man in my veneration for the men who framed the compact under which these States are bound together. No one can easily exaggerate their services or the value of that which they wrought out. But, after all, we may not forget to-day that the thing which they made was a dead and not a living thing. It had no power to interpret itself, to apply itself, to execute itself. Splendid as it was in its complex and forecasting mechanism, instinct as it was, in one sense, with a noble wisdom, with a large-visioned statesmanship, with a matchless adaptability to untried emergencies, it was, nevertheless, no different in another aspect from one of those splendid specimens of naval architecture which throng our wharves to-day, and which, with every best contrivance of human art and skill, with capacities of progress which newly amaze us every day, are but as impotent, dead matter, save as the brain and hand of man shall summon and command them. "The ship of state," we say. Yes; but it is the cool and competent mastery at the helm of that, as of every other ship, which shall, under God, determine the glory or the ignominy of the voyage.

Never was there a truth which more sorely needed to be spoken! A generation which vaunts its descent from the founders of the Republic seems largely to be in danger of forgetting their pre-eminent distinction. They were few in numbers, they were poor in worldly possessions — the sum of the fortune of the richest among them would afford a fine theme for the scorn of the plutocrat of to-day; but they had an invincible confidence in the truth of those principles in which the foundations of the Republic had been laid, and they had an unselfish purpose to maintain them. The conception of the National Government as a huge machine, existing mainly for the purpose of rewarding partisan service — this was a conception so alien to the character and conduct of Washington and his associates that it seems gro-

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tesque even to speak of it. It would be interesting to imagine the first President of the United States confronted with some one who had ventured to approach him upon the basis of what are now commonly known as "practical politics." But the conception is impossible. The loathing, the outraged majesty with which he would have bidden such a creature to be gone is foreshadowed by the gentle dignity with which, just before his inauguration, replying to one who had the strongest claims upon his friendship, and who had applied to him during the progress of the "presidential campaign," as we should say, for the promise of an appointment to office, he wrote: "In touching upon the more delicate part of your letter, the communication of which fills me with real concern, I will deal with you with all that frankness which is due to friendship, and which I wish should be a characteristic feature of my conduct through life. . . . Should it be my fate to administer the Government, I will go to the chair under no pre-engagement of any kind or nature whatever. And when in it, I will, to the best of my judgment, discharge the duties of the office with that impartiality and zeal for the public good which ought never to suffer connections of blood or friendship to have the least sway on decisions of a public nature."

On this high level moved the first President of the Republic. To it must we who are the heirs of her sacred interests be not unwilling to ascend, if we are to guard our glorious heritage!

And this all the more because the perils which confront us are so much graver and more portentous than those which then impended. There is (if we are not afraid of the wholesome medicine that there is in consenting to see it) an element of infinite sadness in the effort which we are making to-day. Ransacking the annals of our fathers as we have been doing for the last few months, a busy and well-meaning assiduity would fain reproduce the scene, the scenery, the situation, of a hundred years ago! Vain and impotent endeavor! It is as though out of the lineaments of living men we would fain produce another Washington. We may disinter the vanished draperies, we may revive the stately minuet, we may rehabilitate the old scenes, but the march of a century cannot be halted or reversed, and the enormous change in the situation can neither be disguised nor ignored. Then we were, though not all of us sprung from one nationality, practically one people. Now, that steadily deteriorating process, against

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whose dangers a great thinker of our own generation warned his countrymen just fifty years ago, goes on, on every hand, apace. "The constant importation," wrote the author of 'The Weal of Nations' [Horace Bushnell], "as now, in this country, of the lowest orders of people from abroad to dilute the quality of our natural manhood, is a sad and beggarly prostitution of the noblest gift ever conferred on a people. Who shall respect a people who do not respect their own blood? And how shall a national spirit, or any determinate and proportionate character, arise out of so many low-bred associations and cross-grained temperaments, imported from every clime? It was, indeed, in keeping that Pan, who was the son of everybody, was the ugliest of the gods."

And again: Another enormous difference between this day and that of which it is the anniversary is seen in the enormous difference in the nature and influence of the forces that determine our national and political destiny. Then, ideas ruled the hour. To-day, there are, indeed, ideas that rule our hour, but they must be merchantable ideas. The growth of wealth, the prevalence of luxury, the massing of large material forces, which by their very existence are a standing menace to the freedom and integrity of the individual, the infinite swagger of our American speech and manners, mistaking bigness for greatness, and sadly confounding gain and godliness,—all this is a contrast to the austere simplicity, the unpurchasable integrity of the first days and first men of our Republic, which makes it impossible to reproduce to-day either the temper or the conduct of our fathers. As we turn the pages backward, and come upon the story of that thirtieth of April, in the Year of our Lord 1789, there is a certain stateliness in the air, a certain ceremoniousness in the manners, which we have banished long ago. We have exchanged the Washingtonian dignity for the Jeffersonian simplicity, which in due time came to be only another name for the Jacksonian vulgarity. And what have we gotten in exchange for it? In the elder States and dynasties they had the trappings of royalty and the pomp and splendor of the king's person to fill men's hearts with loyalty. Well, we have dispensed with the old titular dignities. Let us take care that we do not part with that tremendous force for which they stood! If there be not titular royalty, all the more need is there for personal royalty. If there is to be no nobility of descent, all the more indispensable is it that there should be nobility of ascent,—a character in them

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that bear rule, so fine and high and pure, that as men come within the circle of its influence they involuntarily pay homage to that which is the one pre-eminent distinction,—the Royalty of Virtue!

And that it was, men and brethren, which, as we turn to-day and look at him who, as on this morning just a hundred years ago, became the servant of the Republic in becoming the Chief Ruler of its people, we must needs own, conferred upon him his divine right to rule. All the more, therefore, because the circumstances of his era were so little like our own, we need to recall his image and, if we may, not only to commemorate, but to reproduce his virtues. The traits which in him shone pre-eminent as our own Irving has described them, "firmness, sagacity, an immovable justice, courage that never faltered, and, most of all, truth that disdained all artifices,"—these are characteristics in her leaders of which the nation was never in more dire need than now.

And so we come and kneel at this ancient and hallowed shrine where once he knelt, and ask that God would graciously vouchsafe them. Here in this holy house we find the witness of that one invisible Force which, because it alone can rule the conscience, is destined, one day, to rule the world. Out from airs dense and foul with the coarse passions and coarser rivalries of self-seeking men, we turn aside as from the crowd and glare of some vulgar highway, swarming with pushing and ill-bred throngs, and tawdry and clamorous with bedizened booths and noisy speech, into some cool and shaded wood where straight to heaven some majestic oak lifts its tall form, its roots embedded deep among the unchanging rocks, its upper branches sweeping the upper airs and holding high commune with the stars; and, as we think of him for whom we here thank God, we say: "Such a one, in native majesty he was a ruler, wise and strong and fearless, in the sight of God and men, because by the ennobling grace of God he had learned, first of all, to conquer every mean and selfish and self-seeking aim, and so to rule himself!" For—

> "What are numbers knit
> By force or custom? Man who man would be
> Must rule the empire of himself—in it
> Must be supreme, establishing his throne
> Of vanquished will, quelling the anarchy
> Of hopes and fears, being himself alone."

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Such was the hero, leader, ruler, patriot, whom we gratefully remember on this day. We may not reproduce his age, his young environment, nor him. But none the less may we rejoice that once he lived and led this people, "led them and ruled them prudently," like him, that Kingly Ruler and Shepherd of whom the psalmist sang, "with all his power." God give us the grace to prize his grand example, and, as we may in our more modest measure, to reproduce his virtues.

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SEARGEANT SMITH PRENTISS

(1808–1850)

THE address delivered by Seargeant Smith Prentiss at the dinner of the New England Society of New Orleans in 1845 attained immediate currency and excited the admiration it deserved. It is, without doubt, one of the best examples of the ornate style of oratory so popular before the increased circulation of daily newspapers brought about a change in public taste. Before a jury, especially in murder cases, Prentiss was one of the most effective speakers of his day. «On the stump» his popularity was scarcely exceeded by that of Clay. He was born at Portland, Maine, September 30th, 1808, but historically he is completely identified with the State of Mississippi to which he removed after his graduation at Bowdoin College in 1826. For several years he was a tutor in a private family, but on beginning the practice of law at Vicksburg he easily became the leader of the bar of his adopted State and the most successful «jury orator» of the Southwest. He was a Whig in politics, and represented that party in Congress in 1838 and 1839. He died at Longwood near Natchez, July 1st, 1850.

ON NEW ENGLAND'S «FOREFATHERS' DAY»

(Delivered before the New England Society of New Orleans, December 22d, 1845)

THIS is a day dear to the sons of New England, and ever held by them in sacred remembrance. On this day, from every quarter of the globe, they gather in spirit around the Rock of Plymouth, and hang upon the urns of their Pilgrim Fathers the garlands of filial gratitude and affection. We have assembled for the purpose of participating in this honorable duty; of performing this pious pilgrimage. To-day we will visit that memorable spot. We will gaze upon the place where a feeble band of persecuted exiles founded a mighty nation; and our hearts will exult with proud gratification as we remember that on that barren shore our ancestors planted, not only empire, but freedom.

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We will meditate upon their toils, their sufferings, and their virtues, and to-morrow return to our daily avocations, with minds refreshed and improved by the contemplation of their high principles and noble purposes.

The human mind cannot be contented with the present. It is ever journeying through the trodden regions of the past, or making adventurous excursions into the mysterious realms of the future. He who lives only in the present is but a brute, and has not attained the human dignity. Of the future but little is known; clouds and darkness rest upon it; we yearn to become acquainted with its hidden secrets; we stretch out our arms towards its shadowy inhabitants; we invoke our posterity, but they answer us not. We wander in its dim precincts till reason becomes confused, and at last start back in fear, like mariners who have entered an unknown ocean, of whose winds, tides, currents, and quicksands they are wholly ignorant. Then it is we turn for relief to the past, that mighty reservoir of men and things. There we have something tangible to which our sympathies can attach; upon which we can lean for support; from whence we can gather knowledge and learn wisdom. There we are introduced into Nature's vast laboratory, and witness her elemental labors. We mark with interest the changes in continents and oceans by which she has notched the centuries. But our attention is still more deeply aroused by the great moral events which have controlled the fortunes of those who have preceded us, and still influence our own. With curious wonder we gaze down the long aisles of the past upon the generations that are gone. We behold, as in a magic glass, men in form and feature like ourselves, actuated by the same motives, urged by the same passions, busily engaged in shaping out both their own destinies and ours. We approach them, and they refuse not our invocation. We hold converse with the wise philosophers, the sage legislators, and divine poets. We enter the tent of the general, and partake of his most secret counsels. We go forth with him to the battlefield, and behold him place his glittering squadrons; then we listen with a pleasing fear to the trumpet and the drum, or the still more terrible music of the booming cannon and the clashing arms. But most of all, among the innumerable multitudes who peopled the past, we seek our own ancestors, drawn towards them by an irresistible sympathy. Indeed, they were our other selves. With reverent solicitude we examine into their characters and actions, and as we

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find them worthy or unworthy, our hearts swell with pride, or our cheeks glow with shame. We search with avidity for the most trivial circumstances in their history, and eagerly treasure up every memento of their fortunes. The instincts of our nature bind us indissolubly to them and link our fates with theirs. Men cannot live without a past; it is as essential to them as a future. Into its vast confines we will journey to-day, and converse with our Pilgrim Fathers. We will speak to them and they shall answer us.

Two centuries and a quarter ago a little tempest-tossed, weather-beaten bark, barely escaped from the jaws of the wild Atlantic, landed upon the bleakest shore of New England. From her deck disembarked a hundred and one careworn exiles. To the casual observer no event could seem more insignificant. The contemptuous eye of the world scarcely deigned to notice it. Yet the famous vessel that bore Cæsar and his fortunes carried but an ignoble freight compared with that of the Mayflower. Her little band of Pilgrims brought with them neither wealth nor power, but the principles of civil and religious freedom. They planted them for the first time in the Western Continent. They cherished, cultivated, and developed them to a full and luxuriant maturity; and then furnished them to their posterity as the only sure and permanent foundations for a free government. Upon those foundations rests the fabric of our great Republic; upon those principles depends the career of human liberty. Little did the miserable pedant and bigot who then wielded the sceptre of Great Britain imagine that from this feeble settlement of persecuted and despised Puritans, in a century and a half, would arise a nation capable of coping with his own mighty empire in arts and arms.

It is not my purpose to enter into the history of the Pilgrims; to recount the bitter persecutions and ignominious sufferings which drove them from England; to tell of the eleven years of peace and quiet spent in Holland, under their beloved and venerated pastor; nor to describe the devoted patriotism which prompted them to plant a colony in some distant land, where they could remain citizens of their native country and at the same time be removed from its oppressions; where they could enjoy liberty without violating allegiance. Neither shall I speak of the perils of their adventurous voyage; of the hardships of

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their early settlement; of the famine which prostrated, and the pestilence which consumed them.

With all these things you are familiar, both from the page of history and from the lips of tradition. On occasions similar to this, the ablest and most honored sons of New England have been accustomed to tell, with touching eloquence, the story of their sufferings, their fortitude, their perseverance, and their success. With pious care they have gathered and preserved the scattered memorials of those early days, and the names of Carver, Bradford, Winslow, Standish, and their noble companions, have long since become with us venerated household words.

There were, however, some traits that distinguished the enterprise of the Pilgrims from all others, and which are well worthy of continued remembrance. In founding their colony they sought neither wealth nor conquest, but only peace and freedom. They asked but for a region where they could make their own laws and worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences. From the moment they touched the shore they labored with orderly, systematic, and persevering industry. They cultivated, without a murmur, a poor and ungrateful soil, which even now yields but a stubborn obedience to the dominion of the plow. They made no search for gold, nor tortured the miserable savages to wring from them the discovery of imaginary mines. Though landed by a treacherous pilot upon a barren and inhospitable coast, they sought neither richer fields nor a more genial climate. They found liberty, and for the rest it mattered little. For more than eleven years they had meditated upon their enterprise, and it was no small matter could turn them from its completion. On the spot where first they rested from their wanderings, with stern and high resolve, they built their little city and founded their young Republic. There honesty, industry, knowledge, and piety grew up together in happy union. There, in patriarchal simplicity and republican equality, the Pilgrim Fathers and Mothers passed their honorable days, leaving to their posterity the invaluable legacy of their principles and example.

How proudly can we compare their conduct with that of the adventurers of other nations who preceded them! How did the Spaniard colonize? Let Mexico, Peru, and Hispaniola answer. He followed in the train of the great discoverer, like a devouring pestilence. His cry was gold! gold!! gold!!! Never in the

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history of the world had the *sacra fames auri* exhibited itself with such fearful intensity. His imagination maddened with visions of sudden and boundless wealth, clad in mail, he leaped upon the New World, an armed robber. In greedy haste he grasped the sparkling sand, then cast it down with curses when he found the glittering grains were not of gold.

Pitiless as the bloodhound by his side, he plunged into the primeval forests, crossed rivers, lakes, and mountains, and penetrated to the very heart of the continent. No region, however rich in soil, delicious in climate, or luxuriant in production, could tempt his stay. In vain the soft breeze of the tropics, laden with aromatic fragrance, wooed him to rest; in vain the smiling valleys, covered with spontaneous fruits and flowers, invited him to peaceful quiet. His search was still for gold; the accursed hunger could not be appeased. The simple natives gazed upon him in superstitious wonder, and worshiped him as a god; and he proved to them a god, but an infernal one,—terrible, cruel, and remorseless. With bloody hands he tore the ornaments from their persons, and the shrines from their altars; he tortured them to discover hidden treasure, and slew them that he might search, even in their wretched throats, for concealed gold. Well might the miserable Indians imagine that a race of evil deities had come among them, more bloody and relentless than those who presided over their own sanguinary rites.

Now let us turn to the pilgrims. They, too, were tempted; and had they yielded to the temptation, how different might have been the destinies of this continent—how different must have been our own! Previous to their undertaking, the Old World was filled with strange and wonderful accounts of the New. The unbounded wealth, drawn by the Spaniards from Mexico and South America, seemed to afford rational support for the wildest assertions. Each succeeding adventurer, returning from his voyage, added to the Arabian tales a still more extravagant story. At length Sir Walter Raleigh, the most accomplished and distinguished of all those bold voyagers, announced to the world his discovery of the province of Guiana and its magnificent capital, the far-famed city of El Dorado. We smile now at his account of the "great and golden city," and "the mighty, rich, and beautiful empire." We can hardly imagine that any one could have believed, for a moment, in their existence. At that day, however, the whole matter was received with the most implicit faith.

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Sir Walter Raleigh professed to have explored the country, and thus glowingly describes it from his own observation: —

«I never saw a more beautiful country, nor more lively prospects; hills so raised here and there over the valleys — the river winding into divers branches — the plains adjoining, without bush or stubble — all fair green grass — the deer crossing in every path — the birds, towards the evening, singing on every tree with a thousand several tunes — the air fresh, with a gentle easterly wind; and every stone that we stopped to take up promised either gold or silver by its complexion. For health, good air, pleasure, and riches, I am resolved it cannot be equaled by any region either in the east or west.»

The Pilgrims were urged, in leaving Holland, to seek this charming country and plant their colony among its Arcadian bowers. Well might the poor wanderers cast a longing glance towards its happy valleys, which seemed to invite to pious contemplation and peaceful labor. Well might the green grass, the pleasant groves, the tame deer, and the singing birds allure them to that smiling land beneath the equinoctial line. But while they doubted not the existence of this wondrous region, they resisted its tempting charms. They had resolved to vindicate, at the same time, their patriotism and their principles — to add dominion to their native land, and to demonstrate to the world the practicability of civil and religious liberty. After full discussion and mature deliberation, they determined that their great objects could be best accomplished by a settlement on some portion of the northern continent, which would hold out no temptation to cupidity — no inducement to persecution. Putting aside, then, all considerations of wealth and ease, they addressed themselves with high resolution to the accomplishment of their noble purpose. In the language of the historian, «trusting to God and themselves,» they embarked upon their perilous enterprise.

As I said before, I shall not accompany them on their adventurous voyage. On the twenty-second day of December, 1620, according to our present computation, their footsteps pressed the famous rock which has ever since remained sacred to their venerated memory. Poets, painters, and orators have tasked their powers to do justice to this great scene. Indeed, it is full of moral grandeur; nothing can be more beautiful, more pathetic, or more sublime. Behold the pilgrims, as they stood on that

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cold December day — stern men, gentle women, and feeble children — all uniting in singing a hymn of cheerful thanksgiving to the good God, who had conducted them safely across the mighty deep and permitted them to land upon that sterile shore. See how their upturned faces glow with a pious confidence which the sharp winter winds cannot chill, nor the gloomy forest shadows darken: —

> "Not as the conqueror comes,
> They, the true-hearted came;
> Not with the roll of the stirring drum,
> Nor the trumpet, that sings of fame;
> Nor as the flying come,
> In silence and in fear —
> They shook the depths of the desert gloom
> With their hymns of lofty cheer."

Noble and pious band! your holy confidence was not in vain: your "hymns of lofty cheer" find echo still in the hearts of grateful millions. Your descendants, when pressed by adversity, or when addressing themselves to some high action, turn to the "landing of the Pilgrims," and find heart for any fate — strength for any enterprise.

How simple, yet how instructive, are the annals of this little settlement. In the cabin of the Mayflower they settled a general form of government, upon the principles of a pure democracy. In 1636, they published a declaration of rights, and established a body of laws. The first fundamental article was in these words: —

> "That no act, imposition, law, or ordinance be made, or imposed upon us, at present or to come, but such as has been or shall be enacted by the consent of the body of freemen or associates, or their representatives legally assembled," etc.

Here we find advanced the whole principle of the Revolution — the whole doctrine of our republican institutions. Our fathers, a hundred years before the Revolution, tested successfully, as far as they were concerned, the principle of self-government, and solved the problem whether law and order can co-exist with liberty. But let us not forget that they were wise and good men who made the noble experiment, and that it may yet fail in our hands, unless we imitate their patriotism and virtues.

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There are some who find fault with the character of the Pilgrims,—who love not the simplicity of their manners, nor the austerity of their lives. They were men, and of course imperfect; but the world may well be challenged to point out in the whole course of history men of purer purpose or braver action, —men who have exercised a more beneficial influence upon the destinies of the human race, or left behind them more enduring memorials of their existence.

At all events, it is not for the sons of New England to search for the faults of their ancestors. We gaze with profound veneration upon their awful shades; we feel a grateful pride in the country they colonized, in the institutions they founded, in the example they bequeathed. We exult in our birthplace and in our lineage.

Who would not rather be of the Pilgrim stock than claim descent from the proudest Norman that ever planted his robber blood in the halls of the Saxon, or the noblest paladin that quaffed wine at the table of Charlemagne? Well may we be proud of our native land, and turn with fond affection to its rocky shores. The spirit of the Pilgrims still pervades it and directs its fortunes. Behold the thousand temples of the Most High that nestle in its happy valleys and crown its swelling hills. See how their glittering spires pierce the blue sky, and seem like so many celestial conductors, ready to avert the lightning of an angry heaven. The piety of the pilgrim patriarchs is not yet extinct, nor have the sons forgotten the God of their fathers.

Behold yon simple building near the crossing of the village road! It is small and of rude construction, but stands in a pleasant and quiet spot. A magnificent old elm spreads its broad arms above and seems to lean towards it, as a strong man bends to shelter and protect a child. A brook runs through the meadow near, and hard by there is an orchard—but the trees have suffered much and bear no fruit, except upon the most remote and inaccessible branches. From within its walls comes a busy hum, such as you may hear in a disturbed beehive. Now peep through yonder window and you will see a hundred children, with rosy cheeks, mischievous eyes and demure faces, all engaged, or pretending to be so, in their little lessons. It is the public school—the free, the common school—provided by law; open to all; claimed from the community as a right, not accepted as a bounty. Here the children of the rich and poor, high and

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low, meet upon perfect equality, and commence under the same auspices the race of life. Here the sustenance of the mind is served up to all alike, as the Spartans served their food upon the public table. Here young Ambition climbs his little ladder, and boyish Genius plumes his half-fledged wing. From among these laughing children will go forth the men who are to control the destinies of their age and country: the statesman whose wisdom is to guide the Senate — the poet who will take captive the hearts of the people and bind them together with immortal song — the philosopher who, boldly seizing upon the elements themselves, will compel them to his wishes, and, through new combinations of their primal laws, by some great discovery, revolutionize both art and science.

The common village school is New England's fairest boast — the brightest jewel that adorns her brow. The principle that society is bound to provide for its members' education as well as protection, so that none need be ignorant except from choice, is the most important that belongs to modern philosophy. It is essential to a republican government. Universal education is not only the best and surest, but the only sure foundation for free institutions. True liberty is the child of knowledge; she pines away and dies in the arms of ignorance.

Honor, then, to the early Fathers of New England, from whom came the spirit which has built a schoolhouse by every sparkling fountain, and bids all come as freely to the one as to the other. All honor, too, to this noble city, who has not disdained to follow the example of her Northern sisters, but has wisely determined that the intellectual thirst of her children deserves as much attention as their physical, and that it is as much her duty to provide the means of assuaging the one as of quenching the other.

But the spirit of the Pilgrims survives, not only in the knowledge and piety of their sons, but, most of all, in their indefatigable enterprise and indomitable perseverance.

They have wrestled with Nature till they have prevailed against her, and compelled her reluctantly to reverse her own laws. The sterile soil has become productive under their sagacious culture, and the barren rock, astonished, finds itself covered with luxuriant and unaccustomed verdure.

Upon the banks of every river they build temples to industry, and stop the squanderings of the spendthrift waters. They bind

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the naiads of the brawling stream. They drive the dryades from their accustomed haunts, and force them to desert each favorite grove; for upon river, creek, and bay they are busy transforming the crude forest into stanch and gallant vessels. From every inlet or indenture along the rocky shore swim forth these ocean birds — born in the wild wood, fledged upon the wave. Behold how they spread their white pinions to the favoring breeze, and wing their flight to every quarter of the globe — the carrier pigeons of the world! It is upon the unstable element the sons of New England have achieved their greatest triumphs. Their adventurous prows vex the waters of every sea. Bold and restless as the old Northern vikings, they go forth to seek their fortunes in the mighty deep. The ocean is their pasture, and over its wide prairies they follow the monstrous herds that feed upon its azure fields. As the hunter casts his lasso upon the wild horse, so they throw their lines upon the tumbling whale. They "draw out leviathan with a hook." They "fill his skin with barbed irons," and, in spite of his terrible strength, they "part him among the merchants." To them there are no pillars of Hercules. They seek with avidity new regions, and fear not to be "the first that ever burst" into unknown seas. Had they been the companions of Columbus, the great mariner would not have been urged to return, though he had sailed westward to his dying day.

Glorious New England! thou art still true to thy ancient fame and worthy of thy ancestral honors. We, thy children, have assembled in this far-distant land to celebrate thy birthday. A thousand fond associations throng upon us, roused by the spirit of the hour. On thy pleasant valleys rest, like sweet dews of morning, the gentle recollections of our early life; around thy hills and mountains cling, like gathering mists, the mighty memories of the Revolution; and far away in the horizon of thy past gleam, like thine own Northern Lights, the awful virtues of our Pilgrim sires! But while we devote this day to the remembrance of our native land, we forget not that in which our happy lot is cast. We exult in the reflection that though we count by thousands the miles which separate us from our birthplace, still our country is the same. We are no exiles meeting upon the banks of a foreign river, to swell its waters with our homesick tears. Here floats the same banner which rustled above our boyish heads, except that its mighty folds are wider and its glittering stars increased in number.

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The sons of New England are found in every State of the broad Republic. In the East, the South, and the unbounded West, their blood mingles freely with every kindred current. We have but changed our chamber in the paternal mansion; in all its rooms we are at home, and all who inhabit it are our brothers. To us the Union has but one domestic hearth; its household gods are all the same. Upon us, then, peculiarly devolves the duty of feeding the fires upon that kindly hearth; of guarding with pious care those sacred household gods.

We cannot do with less than the whole Union; to us it admits of no division. In the veins of our children flows Northern and Southern blood. How shall it be separated; who shall put asunder the best affections of the heart, the noblest instincts of our nature? We love the land of our adoption, so do we that of our birth. Let us ever be true to both, and always exert ourselves in maintaining the unity of our country, the integrity of the Republic.

Accursed, then, be the hand put forth to loosen the golden cord of Union; thrice accursed the traitorous lips, whether of Northern fanatic or Southern demagogue, which shall propose its severance! But no! the Union cannot be dissolved; its fortunes are too brilliant to be marred; its destinies too powerful to be resisted. Here will be their greatest triumph, their most mighty development. And when, a century hence, this Crescent City shall have filled her golden horns; when, within her broad-armed port shall be gathered the products of the industry of a hundred millions of freemen; when galleries of art and halls of learning shall have made classic this mart of trade; then may the sons of the Pilgrims, still wandering from the bleak hills of the north, stand upon the banks of the great river, and exclaim with mingled pride and wonder: «Lo! this is our country. When did the world ever witness so rich and magnificent a city—so great and glorious a Republic!»

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WILLIAM PULTENEY

(1684–1764)

WILLIAM PULTENEY was one of the most thoroughgoing Whigs of the reigns of Queen Anne and George I., when in some respects the Whigs were more thoroughgoing than their successors, the English Liberals, of the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Though no English Liberal of the present might care to make such a speech against English armament as Pulteney made in 1738, it is still of great contemporary interest in its bearing on similar speeches made by John Hancock and other celebrated American Whigs not quite forty years later. Pulteney was born in 1684 and educated at Christ Church, Oxford. He entered Parliament in 1705, and supported Walpole, though twenty years later they antagonized each other. Under George I., Pulteney was Secretary of War, and in 1742 was created Earl of Bath, a title which failed to usurp the honor he had done his own patronymic. He died July 7th, 1764.

AGAINST STANDING ARMIES

(From a Speech in the English Parliament in 1738)

Mr. Speaker:—

SIR, as my principles are well known, as I have always declared myself of Whig principles, therefore I shall take the liberty to speak with the more freedom upon the question now before us; and, indeed, upon the present occasion, I think myself under a sort of necessity, not only of speaking, but of speaking freely, because I find those very fears which were the occasion of our late happy Revolution are now made use of as arguments for leading us into measures which must necessarily disappoint its effect. For recovering our religion and liberties, or at least for delivering them from the dangers they were then exposed to, our ancestors ventured their lives and fortunes under the glorious and successful banners of the Prince of Orange. For securing those liberties in time to come, the Prince of Orange was advanced to our throne, and for the same end our present royal

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family was established. This is the end we have had in view ever since the Revolution. This is the end which I shall always have in view; and, therefore, I can never allow the apprehensions of arbitrary power from one man to grow so prevalent with me as to induce me to be for any measure that may probably subject this nation, some time hereafter, to the arbitrary power of another; for if our liberties are to be destroyed, it signifies nothing to me, whether they are to be destroyed by a Richard, a John, or a Thomas; I am sure they can never be in any danger from a George.

If I were sure, sir, that the custom of keeping up a standing army in time of peace would come to an end as soon as it shall please God to visit this nation, by taking his present Majesty from us, I should be very easy, even though our army were much more numerous than it is; but as I know that the custom in one reign is generally made a precedent for the next, and as experience has shown us that a standing army is an evil more apt to grow than decrease, therefore I shall never be for keeping up a greater number of regular troops than shall at the time appear absolutely necessary. I know there are some gentlemen, who, upon the present and many former occasions, have argued for the necessity of keeping up a standing army in time of peace, and yet pretend to be proud of being thought Whigs; but I likewise know that a change in a man's circumstances has often produced a change in his sentiments; and, indeed, I am surprised to find that any man who has read the writings of some of our most eminent Whigs in former reigns can pretend to call himself a Whig, or that he is governed by Whig principles, and yet at the same time declare for keeping up a numerous standing army in this island at a time when we are in the most profound tranquillity both abroad and at home. A numerous standing army, an army of men depending upon the king only, for their bread as well as their preferment, has always been deemed inconsistent with liberty. This has been the language of Whigs ever since the name was known; this has always been the language of those who were in times past the glorious supporters of liberty; the contrary doctrine was never till of late years professed by any but courtiers and the corrupt advocates for arbitrary power. Corrupt, sir, I may surely call them; for in favor of such a cause, I am certain no man would argue without a fee.

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From all histories, both ancient and modern, we shall find that standing armies have been the destruction of liberty; and from the history of our own we may see how apt a standing army is to increase. Before the reign of King Charles II., no king of England had so much as a regiment of guards; they had no guards but the gentlemen pensioners; and though King Charles II. upon his restoration established but two regiments of guards, one of foot, and another of horse, or rather some troops of horse, yet the Whigs of those days (notwithstanding the unsettled state the nation was in, and the many republicans and republican soldiers who were then known to be in the kingdom) found great fault with that establishment, and looked upon it as an innovation dangerous to the liberties of the nation. But these two regiments are now increased to an army of eighteen thousand men, and even the most zealous Whigs of this, which is but the next succeeding age, seem to be willing to submit to the keeping up of twelve thousand. For my part, sir, I must confess that I think even twelve thousand too great a number to be kept up in time of peace, and should look upon it as extremely dangerous if it were to be established as a maxim, that it would always be necessary for us to keep up such a number; therefore, though I may now argue for no greater reduction than what has been proposed, I hope it will not be from thence inferred that I shall always be for keeping up that number.

Even twelve thousand regular forces may, in my opinion, be dangerous, especially if the keeping up of that number should be attended with an utter neglect of military discipline among the rest of our people; but eighteen thousand of such forces is, I think, a number which is absolutely inconsistent with our constitution; for no man can say our Constitution is secure when it is in the power of the court to overturn it at any time they have a mind; and considering the circumstances the nation is now in, considering that our militia is reduced to the lowest contempt, that there is no arms, nor any knowledge of military discipline among our people, that there is no great family in the kingdom that has any military dependence, or is in possession of any magazine of arms, I will be bold to say that eighteen thousand regular troops, devoted to a court faction, will not only enable that faction to overturn the liberties of their country, but will be sufficient for supporting the arbitrary power they have established. In all countries we find that the keeping up of standing armies

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debases the spirit and courage of the rest of the people. In this country it has already had some effect, and that effect will grow stronger and more general every day. If an ambitious or oppressive court, supported by eighteen thousand regular, mercenary troops, should begin to govern without any Parliament, and to make his Majesty's proclamation carry the force of a law, nothing but a military opposition could be made to them, and no such opposition can be made without a previous concert, and great preparation; for as no single man in the kingdom has now any number of followers he can depend on, nor any quantity of arms for arming those that may follow him from pure inclination, therefore no considerable body of men could assemble together in arms in any part of the kingdom against an established government, nor can any one man, no nor any half dozen of the best families in the kingdom, propose to bring such a thing about with any probability of success; for a general concert might probably be discovered before it could be brought to the execution, and if any private man should begin to provide himself with a quantity of arms the government might probably hear of it, and would not only seize upon his arms, but might make it a sufficient proof for convicting him of high treason. In our present circumstances, therefore, it cannot be expected that such a government would meet with any opposition, but from mobs and sudden tumultuous assemblies, and one squadron of dragoons, or two or three companies of foot, will always be sufficient for dispersing any such tumultuous assembly, especially after our people have been rendered more dastardly than they are at present, by a long disuse of arms and by having been long accustomed to be bullied and cowed by parties of regular troops.

From reason therefore, sir, and the nature of things, I must conclude that eighteen thousand regular troops will be sufficient for establishing and supporting arbitrary power in this kingdom, whenever our government has a mind; and in this opinion I am strongly fortified by experience. I believe there was never in any country a more illegal, a more arbitrary, or a more unpopular government, than that of Oliver Cromwell; yet that government was supported till his death by an army not much greater than what we have now on foot, for when he died his army amounted to but twenty-seven thousand men; and the same sort of government would probably have been re-established under some other general, if a part of the army itself had not joined in

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restoring King Charles II. If then, at that time, twenty-seven thousand men were found sufficient, when a great part of our people were not only accustomed to arms, but bred to action, what may not eighteen thousand now do, after our people have been for so long bred up in a total disuse of arms, and hardly any man in the kingdom, except a few in our army, that ever saw an engagement? From the histories of other countries we may learn the same sort of experience. Julius Cæsar conquered the world with an army not much superior to what we have now on foot, for it is reckoned he had but about twenty-two thousand men, when he fought the battle of Pharsalia; and both in France and Spain we shall find that the armies which first established that arbitrary power which now subsists in each were not a great deal more numerous than the standing army now kept up in this island. . . .

Having thus, I think, clearly shown that the keeping up a standing army of eighteen thousand men in this island may be of the most dangerous consequence to our Constitution, I shall next consider the necessity we are now under for keeping up such a number; but first, sir, I shall take some notice of our militia, notwithstanding its being now in such a contemptible state that 'tis worth no man's while to take notice of it, and notwithstanding my being convinced that it will be growing more and more contemptible every day; for while our government has a standing army to trust to, I am afraid they will endeavor to render our militia more and more contemptible, in order to make a standing army the more necessary and to make their dependence upon that army the more safe and infallible. However, sir, notwithstanding the present contemptible state of our militia, I am still of opinion that it might be made a good militia; nay, I am convinced that by proper regulations it might, in a few years, be made as good as any regular troops that have never been in action; for, with respect to discipline and the use of arms, I cannot look upon our present standing army as anything else than a well-disciplined militia. There are but few of the officers and soldiers that have ever been in action, and such as have might be incorporated with the militia; so that I can see no reason why our militia might not, in a few years, be made as good as our present regular troops can be supposed to be. In time of war, indeed, it would be necessary to have regular regiments and to give pay both to the officers and soldiers of

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those regiments; but at the end of the war all such regiments ought to be disbanded and incorporated with our militia, and proper care taken to provide handsomely for those officers and soldiers who could not provide for themselves. By this means, even our militia would always have a great number of veteran soldiers among them, which would make those soldiers of much more service to their country, and much less expensive or dangerous, than when kept in separate corps by themselves, according to our present method. . . .

But, sir, if we still go on in the same error; if we continue to neglect our militia and to put our whole trust in a standing army, our king may enjoy the hearts and affections of the generality of the people and yet fall a sacrifice to the unjust resentment of his army; for in all countries where a standing army is kept up, those very measures and qualities which serve to endear a king to the generality of his people may probably expose him to the hatred and contempt of a standing army. In all countries where a standing army has been long kept up, and the rest of the people bred up to a total disuse of arms, the gentlemen of the army are apt to begin to look upon themselves, not as the servants, but as the lords and masters of the people; therefore they are apt to take such liberties with the people as ought not to be indulged in any society; and if the king, by an equal and impartial distribution of justice, should take care to prevent or put a stop to their taking any such liberties, they will probably think he does them injustice by not allowing them to make use of that right which they may think belongs to them as lords and masters of the people. In every such case, if the people have neither skill nor courage to defend their king and protector, he must necessarily fall a sacrifice to the resentment of his army, and for this reason we find that in all governments where a standing army has been long kept up, the king or chief magistrate generally despises the affections of the people and minds nothing but the affections of the army, for the securing of which it becomes absolutely necessary for him to look upon the people in the same light his army does. They join in considering the people as their slaves only, and they join in treating them accordingly.

I come now, sir, to the third necessary use we are said to have for a numerous standing army, and I must say it is such a one as surprises me. We are told that an army of eighteen thousand

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men is necessary for enabling the civil magistrate to execute those laws, which have been thought necessary by the wisdom of our legislature. If it were so, I am sure I should not think the wisdom of our legislature very conspicuous. 'Tis well known, sir, that with respect to some laws lately passed I have nothing to answer for, because I testified my disapprobation in the most public and explicit manner, of which several gentlemen in this House can bear me witness; but, nevertheless, I have so much confidence in the wisdom of our legislature, that I am convinced they neither have passed, nor will pass, any law for the execution of which a military force shall appear to be necessary, and if from experience such a thing should afterwards be found to be necessary, they would certainly repeal such a law and contrive some other method for effectuating that which was intended by the enacting of such a law; for in a free and civil government the lawgivers must always take care to pass no laws but what may be executed by the civil magistrate, assisted by the civil power of the country, or what we in this kingdom call the posse of the county. If they do otherwise, they must necessarily alter the frame of their government, and instead of a civil and free government they must establish a military and arbitrary form of government. In this we may see the difference between a free government supported by the power of the people only and an arbitrary government supported by a standing army. The former in all the laws they pass, or measures they take, are obliged to consult the inclinations of the people in general, because it is by the power of the people only they can propose to execute the laws they pass, or to enforce the measures they pursue. The latter, in neither of these respects, ever trouble their heads about the inclinations of the people; they consult only the inclinations of their army; because, if the people appear dissatisfied with any regulation they make, they can order their army to assist the civil magistrate in cramming it down the throats of the people.

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JOHN PYM.

After a Portrait Owned in 1738 by Thomas Hales, Esq.

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JOHN PYM

(1584–1643)

IN MANY respects Pym was the most remarkable man of the revolution against the Stuarts. He had a keener intellect than Hampden, and a power of sustained thought of which Cromwell was never capable. There are times when Cromwell's speeches read as if they were the result of the attempt of a disturbed mind to express itself in a feverish dream, but Pym in such speeches as that impeaching Strafford showed a power of intellect and a strength of expression seldom equaled in political discussion. "The law," he says, "is the safeguard of all private interests. Your honors, your lives, your liberties and estates are all in the keeping of the law. Without this every man hath a like right to anything. This is the condition into which the Irish were brought by the Earl of Strafford; and the reason which he gave for it hath more mischief in it than the thing itself. 'They were a conquered nation.' There cannot be a word more pregnant and fruitful in treason than that word is. . . . If the King, by right of a conqueror, give laws to his people, shall not the people by the same reason be restored to the right of the conquered, to recover their liberty if they can?" Again, he says: "It is the end of government that all accidents and events, all counsels and designs, should be improved to the public good, but this arbitrary power is apt to dispose all to the maintenance of itself." In such utterances as these, Pym was one of the founders of the United States of America as truly as if he had signed the Constitution. He was born in Somersetshire in 1584. Entering Parliament in 1621, two years after leaving Oxford University, he became one of the promoters of Buckingham's impeachment in 1626, and in 1628 was active in support of the Petition of Right. In the troubled year 1640, he became very prominent, and as he was instrumental in impeaching both Strafford and Laud, he was especially detested by the court. Charles I. attempted to send him to the Tower in 1642, but was defeated by the firm stand the House of Commons took for its privileges. Pym died December 8th, 1643. The set speech he delivered at great length, defining grievances against Charles I., is not reported except in a synopsis. The report of his shorter speech of November 7th, 1640, 'On Grievances,' is here given in full from Nalson.

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GRIEVANCES AGAINST CHARLES I.

(Delivered in Parliament, November 7th, 1640)

Mr. Speaker:—

THE distempers of this kingdom are well known; they need not repetition; for though we have good laws, yet they want their execution; or if they were executed, it is in a wrong sense. I shall endeavor to apply a remedy to the breaches that are made, and to that end I shall discover first the quality of the disease.

Firstly, there is a design to alter law and religion; the parties that effect this are Papists, who are obliged by a maxim in their doctrine that they are not only bound to maintain their religion, but also to extirpate all others.

The second is their hierarchy which cannot amount to the height they aim at, without a breach of our law. To which their religion necessarily joins, that if the one stand, the other must fall.

Thirdly, agents and pensioners to foreign States, who see we cannot comply to them if we maintain our religion established, which is contrary to theirs. Here they intend chiefly the Spanish white gold works which are of most effect.

Fourthly, favorites, such as for promotion prize not conscience, and such are our judges spiritual and temporal; such are also some of our counselors of state. All these, though severed, yet in their contrivements aim at one end, and to this they walk on four feet.

Firstly, discountenancing of preachers and virtuous men, they persecute under the law of purity.

Secondly, countenancing of preachers of contrary dispositions.

Thirdly, the negotiating with the faction of Rome by preaching, and to instructions to preach up the absolute monarchy of kings. [Here follow several heads:—]

Firstly, the political interpretation of the law to serve their terms, and thus to impose taxes with a color of law; a judge said it when a *habeas corpus* was paid for.

Secondly, by keeping the king in continual want, that he may seek to their counsels for relief; to this purpose, to keep the Parliaments in distaste, that their counsels may be taken. The king

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by them is brought to this, as a woman that used herself to poison could not live with good meat. Search the chronicles, and we see no king that ever used Parliaments was brought to this want.

Thirdly, arbitrary proceedings in courts of justice; we have all law left to the conscience of a single man. All courts are now courts of conscience, without conscience.

Fourthly, plotters to enforce a war between Scotland and us, that when we had well wearied one another, we might be both brought to what scorn they pleased; the partition wall is only unity.

Fifthly, the sudden dissolving of Parliaments, and punishing of Parliament men, all to affright us from speaking what we think. One was committed for not delivering up the petitions of the House; then a declaration which slandered our proceedings, as full of lies as leaves, who would have the first ground to be our example. And Papists are under appearance to the king his best subjects, for they contribute money to the war, which the Protestants will not do.

Sixthly, another is military, by getting places of importance into the Papists' hands, as who are commanders in the last army but they? none more strong in arms than they, to whom their armor is delivered contrary to the statute. Their endeavor is to bring in strangers to be billeted upon us; we have had no accompt of the Spanish navy, and now our fear is from Ireland.

Lastly, the next is papistical that proceeds of agents here in London, by whose desires many monasteries and nunneries here in London were erected.

LAW AS THE SAFEGUARD OF LIBERTY

(Opening of the Reply to Strafford Delivered in Parliament in 1641)

My Lords:—

MANY days have been spent in maintenance of the impeachment of the Earl of Strafford by the House of Commons, whereby he stands charged with high treason; and your lordships have heard his defense with patience, and with as much favor as justice will allow. We have passed through our evidence and the result is that it remains clearly proved that the

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Earl of Strafford hath endeavored by his words, actions, and counsels, to subvert the fundamental laws of England and Ireland, and to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government. This will best appear if the quality of the offense be examined by that law to which he himself appeared, that universal, that supreme law,— *Salus populi*,— the welfare of the people! This is the element of all laws, out of which they are derived; the end of all laws to which they are designed, and in which they are perfected. The offense comprehends all other offenses. Here you shall find several treasons, murders, rapines, oppressions, perjuries. The earth hath a seminary virtue, whereby it doth produce all herbs and plants and other vegetables; there is in this crime a seminary of all evils hurtful to a State; and if you consider the reason of it, it must needs be so.

The law is that which puts a difference betwixt good and evil,— betwixt just and unjust. If you take away the law, all things will fall into a confusion. Every man will become a law to himself, which, in the depraved condition of human nature, must needs produce many great enormities. Lust will become a law, and envy will become a law; covetousness and ambition will become laws; and what dictates, what decisions such laws will produce may easily be discerned in the late government of Ireland! The law hath a power to prevent, to restrain, to repair evils; without this, all kind of mischief and distempers will break in upon a State.

It is the law that doth entitle the King to the allegiance and service of his people; it entitles the people to the protection and justice of the King. It is God alone who subsists by himself, all other things subsist in a mutual dependence and relation. He was a wise man that said that the King subsisted by the field that is tilled; it is the labor of the people that supports the Crown; if you take away the protection of the King, the vigor and cheerfulness of allegiance will be taken away, though the obligation remains.

The law is the boundary, the measure between the King's prerogative and the people's liberty; while these move in their own orbs, they are a support and a security to one another; the prerogative a cover and defense to the liberty of the people, and the people by their liberty are enabled to be a foundation to the prerogative; but if these bounds be so removed that they enter into contention and conflict, one of these mischiefs must ensue;

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if the prerogative of the King overwhelms the liberty of the people, it will be turned into tyranny; if liberty undermine the prerogative, it will grow into anarchy.

The law is the safeguard, the custody of all private interest. Your honors, your lives, your liberties and estates, are all in the keeping of the law; without this, every man hath a like right to anything. This is the condition into which the Irish were brought by the Earl of Strafford; and the reason which he gave for it hath more mischief in it than the thing itself,—they were a conquered nation. There cannot be a word more pregnant and fruitful in treason than that word is. There are few nations in the world that have not been conquered, and no doubt but the conqueror may give what laws he pleases to those that are conquered, but if the succeeding pacts and agreements do not limit and restrain that right, what people can be secure? England hath been conquered, Wales hath been conquered, and by this reason will be in little better case than Ireland; if the King by right of a conqueror give laws to his people, shall not the people by the same reason be restored to the right of the conquered, to recover their liberty if they can? What can be more hurtful, more pernicious to both, than such propositions as these? And in these particulars is determined the first consideration.

The second consideration is this: Arbitrary power is dangerous to the King's person and dangerous to his crown; it is apt to cherish ambition, usurpation, and oppression in great men, and to beget sedition and discontent in the people; and both these have been, and in reason must ever be, causes of great trouble and altercation to princes and states.

If the histories of those Eastern countries be perused, where princes order their affairs according to the mischievous principles of the Earl of Strafford, loose and absolved from all rules of government, they will be found to be frequent in combustions, full of massacres and of the tragical ends of princes. If any man should look into our own histories, in the times when the laws were most neglected, he shall find them full of commotions, of civil distempers, whereby the kings that then reigned were always kept in want and distress; the people consumed with civil wars; and by such wicked councils as these, some of our princes have been brought to such miserable ends as no honest heart can remember without horror and earnest prayer, that it may never be so again.

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The third consideration is this: The subversion of the laws, and this arbitrary power, as it is dangerous to the King's person and to his crown, so is it in other respects very prejudicial to his Majesty, in his honor, profit, and greatness; and yet these are the gildings and paintings that are put upon such counsels; these are for your honor, for your service, whereas in truth they are contrary to both; but if I shall take off this varnish, I hope they shall then appear in their own native deformity, and therefore I desire to consider them by these rules.

It cannot be for the honor of the King that his sacred authority should be used in the practice of injustice and oppression; that his name should be applied to patronize such horrid crimes as have been represented in evidence against the Earl of Strafford; and yet how frequently, how presumptuously his commands, his letters, have been vouched throughout the course of this defense. Your lordships have heard, when the judges do justice, it is the King's justice, and this is for his honor, because he is the fountain of justice; but when they do injustice the offense is their own; but those officers and ministers of the King, who are most officious in the exercise of this arbitrary power, they do it commonly for their advantages, and when they are questioned for it, then they fly to the King's interest, to his direction; and truly, my lords, this is a very unequal distribution for the King that the dishonor of evil courses should be cast upon him, and they to have the advantage.

The prejudice which it brings to him in regard of his profits is no less apparent; it deprives him of the most beneficial and most certain revenue of his crown, that is, the voluntary aids and supplies of his people; his other revenues, consisting of goodly demesnes and great manors, have by grants been alienated from the crown, and are now exceedingly diminished and impaired; but this revenue, it cannot be sold, it cannot be burdened with any pensions or annuities, but comes entirely to the crown. It is now almost fifteen years since his Majesty had any assistance from his people; and these illegal ways of supplying the King were never pressed with more violence and art than they have been in this time; and yet I may, upon very good grounds, affirm that in the last fifteen years of Queen Elizabeth she received more, by the bounty and affection of her subjects, than hath come to his Majesty's coffers by all the inordinate and rigorous courses which have been taken. And as those supplies

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were more beneficial, in the receipt of them, so were they likewise in the use and employment of them.

Another way of prejudice to his Majesty's profit, is this; such arbitrary courses exhaust the people, and disable them, when there shall be occasion, to give such plentiful supplies as otherwise they would do. I shall need no other proof of this than the Irish government under my Lord of Strafford, where the wealth of the kingdom is so consumed by those horrible exactions and burdens, that it is thought the subsidies lately granted will amount to little more than half the proportion of the last subsidies. The two former ways are hurtful to the King's profit, in that respect which they call *lucrum cessans*, by diminishing his receipts; but there is a third, fuller of mischief; and it is in that respect, which they call *damnum emergens*, by increasing his disbursements; such irregular and exorbitant attempts upon the liberties of the people are apt to produce such miserable distractions and distempers as will put the King and kingdoms to such vast expenses and losses in a short time as will not be recovered in many years. We need not go far to seek a proof of this; these last two years will be a sufficient evidence, within which time I assure myself it may be proved that more treasure hath been wasted, more loss sustained, by his Majesty and his subjects, than was spent by Queen Elizabeth in all the war of Tyron, and in those many brave attempts against the King of Spain and the royal assistance which she gave to France and the Low Countries during all her reign.

As for greatness, this arbitrary power is apt to hinder and impair it, not only at home, but abroad. A kingdom is a society of men enjoined under one government for common good. The world is a society of kingdoms and states. The King's greatness consists, not only in his dominion over his subjects at home, but in the influence which he hath upon states abroad; that he should be great even among kings, and, by his wisdom and authority, so to incline and dispose the affairs of other states and nations, and those great events which fall out in the world, as shall be for the good of mankind and for the peculiar advantage of his own people. This is the most glorious and magnificent greatness to be able to relieve distressed princes, to support his own friends and allies, to prevent the ambitious designs of other kings; and how much this kingdom hath been impaired in this kind by the late mischievous counsels, your lordships best know; who, at a near

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distance, and with a more clear sight, do apprehend these great and public affairs than I can do. Yet thus much I dare boldly say, that if his Majesty had not, with great wisdom and goodness, forsaken that way wherein the Earl of Strafford had put him, we should, within a short time, have been brought into that miserable condition, as to have been useless to our friends, contemptible to our enemies, and incapable of undertaking any great design, either at home or abroad.

A fourth consideration is, that this arbitrary and tyrannical power, which the Earl of Strafford did exercise in his own person, and to which he did advise his Majesty, is inconsistent with the peace, the wealth, the prosperity of a nation; it is destructive to justice, the mother of peace; to industry, the spring of wealth; to valor, which is the active virtue, whereby the prosperity of a nation can only be procured, confirmed, and enlarged.

It is not only apt to take away peace, and so entangle the nation with wars, but doth corrupt peace, and put such a malignity into it as produceth the effects of war. We need seek no other proof of this but the Earl of Strafford's government, where the Irish, both nobility and others, had as little security of their persons or estates in this peaceable time, as if the kingdom had been under the rage and fury of war.

And as for industry and valor, who will take pains for that, which, when he hath gotten, is not his own? or who fight for that wherein he hath no other interest but such as is subject to the will of another? The ancient encouragement to men that were to defend their countries was this, that they were to hazard their person, *pro aris et focis*, for their religion, and for their houses; but by this arbitrary way which was practiced in Ireland, and counseled here, no man had any certainty, either of religion, or of his house, or anything else to be his own; but besides this, such arbitrary courses have an ill operation upon the courage of a nation, by embasing the hearts of the people; a servile condition does for the most part beget in men a slavish temper and disposition. Those that live so much under the whip and the pillory, and such servile engines as were frequently used by the Earl of Strafford, they may have the dregs of valor, sullenness, and stubbornness, which may make them prone to mutinies and discontents; but those noble and gallant affections which put men to brave designs and attempts for the preservation or enlargement of a kingdom, they are hardly capable of. Shall it be

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treason to embase the King's coin, though but a piece of twelvepence, or sixpence? and must it not needs be the effect of a greater treason to embase the spirits of his subjects, and to set a stamp and character of servitude upon them, whereby they shall be disabled to do anything for the service of the King and Commonwealth?

The fifth consideration is this, that the exercise of this arbitrary government in times of sudden danger, by the invasion of an enemy, will disable his Majesty to preserve himself and his subjects from that danger. This is the only pretense by which the Earl of Strafford, and such other mischievous counselors, would induce his Majesty to make use of it; and if it be unfit for such an occasion, I know nothing that can be alleged in maintenance of it.

When war threatens a kingdom by the coming of a foreign enemy, it is no time then to discontent the people, to make them weary of the present government, and more inclinable to a change; the supplies which are to come in this way, the distractions, divisions, distempers which this course is apt to produce will be more prejudicial to the public safety than the supply can be advantageous to it, and of this we have had sufficient experience the last summer.

The sixth, that this crime of subverting the laws and introducing an arbitrary and tyrannical government is contrary to the pact and covenant between the King and his people; that which was spoken of before was the legal union of allegiance and protection; this is a personal union by mutual agreement and stipulation, confirmed by oath on both sides; the King and his people are obliged to one another in the closest relation, as of a father and a child; it is called in law *pars patris;* he is the husband of the Commonwealth, they have the same interests, they are inseparable in their condition, be it good or evil; he is the head, they are the body; there is such an incorporation as cannot be dissolved without the destruction of both.

When Justice Thorp, in Edward the Third's time, was by the Parliament condemned to death for bribery, the reason of that judgment is given because he had broken the King's oath, not that he had broken his own oath, but he had broken the King's oath, that solemn and great obligation which is the security of the whole kingdom; if for a judge to take a final sum in a private cause was adjudged capital, how much greater was this offense,

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whereby the Earl of Strafford hath broken the King's oath in the whole course of his government in Ireland, to the prejudice of so many of his Majesty's subjects in their lives, liberties, and estates, and to the danger of all the rest?

The doctrine of the Papists, *Fides non est servanda cum hereticis*, is an abominable doctrine; yet that other tenet, more peculiar to the Jesuits, is more pernicious, whereby subjects are discharged from their oath of allegiance to their prince, whensoever the Pope pleaseth; this may be added to make the third no less mischievous and destructive to human society than either of the rest. That the King is not bound by that oath which he hath taken to observe the laws of the kingdom, but may, when he sees cause, lay taxes and burdens upon them without their consent, contrary to the laws and liberties of the kingdom — this hath been preached and published by divers persons, and this is that which hath been practiced in Ireland by the Earl of Strafford, in his government there, and endeavored to be brought into England by his counsel here.

The seventh is this: it is an offense that is contrary to the end of government; the end of government was to prevent oppressions, to limit and restrain the executive power and violence of great men, to open the passages of justice, with indifferency towards all; this arbitrary power is apt to induce and encourage all kinds of insolences.

Another end of government is to preserve men in their estates, to secure them in their lives and liberties; but if this design had taken effect, and could have been settled in England, as it was practiced in Ireland, no man would have had more certainty in his own, than power would have allowed him; but these two have been spoken of heretofore; there are two behind more important, which have not yet been touched.

It is the end of government that virtue should be cherished, vice suppressed; but where this arbitrary and unlimited power is set up, a way is open, not only for the security, but for the advancement and encouragement of evil; such men as are apt for the execution and maintenance of this power are only capable of preferment; and others who will not be instruments of any unjust commands, who make a conscience to do nothing against the laws of the kingdom and liberties of the subject, are not only passable for employment, but subject to much jealousy and danger.

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It is the end of government that all accidents and events, all counsels and designs should be improved to the public good; but this arbitrary power is apt to dispose all to the maintenance of itself. The wisdom of the council-table, the authority of the courts of justice, the industry of all the officers of the Crown, have been most carefully exercised in this; the learning of our divines, the jurisdiction of our bishops have been molded and disposed to the same effect, which though it were begun before the Earl of Strafford's employment, yet it hath been exceedingly furthered and advanced by him.

Under this color and pretense of maintaining the King's power and prerogative, many dangerous practices against the peace and safety of the kingdom have been undertaken and promoted. The increase of popery and the favors and encouragement of papists have been, and still are, a great grievance and danger to the kingdom; the innovation, in matters of religion, the usurpations of the clergy, the manifold burdens and taxations upon the people, have been a great cause of our present distempers and disorders; and yet those who have been chief furtherers and actors of such mischiefs have had their credit and authority from this that they were forward to maintain this power. The Earl of Strafford had the first rise of his greatness from this, and in his apology and defense, as your lordships have heard, this hath had a main part.

The royal power and majesty of kings is most glorious in the prosperity and happiness of the people; the perfection of all things consists in the end for which they were ordained; God only is his own end; all other things have a further end beyond themselves, in attaining whereof their own happiness consists. If the means and end be set in opposition to one another, it must needs cause impotency and defect of both.

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